The Political Philosophy of Mullā Ṣadrā

Providing a comprehensive and widely accessible investigation into Mullā Ṣadrā's works, this book establishes his political philosophy and instigates a dialogue on the relevance of Ṣadrā's philosophy to present-day challenges.

Investigating Ṣadrā's primary sources, the book reveals that his discourse on politics cannot be interpreted as a discursive springboard for hierocracy and the political authority of Shi'a jurists, nor does the mystical attitude of his philosophy (with its emphasis on the inner aspects of religion) promote an idea of quietism or a fundamental separation of religion and politics. Laying the groundwork for further translations and interpretation, this volume is not just concerned with 'political philosophy' as yet another particular and limited facet of Ṣadrā's overall system. Rather, through unifying mystical, intellectual and political aspects of this singular philosopher, the volume is concerned with properly contextualizing and understanding the guiding intentions and inspirations that unify and underlie all of his creative philosophical endeavour.

This pioneering and provocative work of genuine reflection is a new contribution to the wider subject of political philosophy. It will be of interest to researchers of political philosophy, Islamic philosophy, mysticism, theology, history and Iranian studies.

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Foreword

Given that the introductions and concluding passages of virtually all of Mullā Ṣadrā's multiple philosophical writings, at every level from the most popular to the most technical, are focused on vehement political attacks and undisguised polemics against many of the leading religio-political tendencies of his own day, the generalized neglect of his political philosophy over the past century or more can only be explained by the familiar institutional processes of scholasticization in those centres of religious learning where the analysis of his works has long been focused on the sterile repetition of a familiar set of ontological doctrines and standard metaphysical interpretations. This recent neglect of Ṣadrā's political thought is all the more striking when seen against the background of the often central role his philosophical writings and tendencies had played in long-running religio-political polemics throughout the earlier Qajar period, involving both the Shaykhi and Bābi movements.

In any event, as Khalil Toussi's remarkable new survey of Ṣadrā's political philosophy makes abundantly clear, even a cursory examination of his philosophical writings quickly reveals the elaborate attention that he pays throughout each systematic work to every essential element of political philosophy: epistemology and eschatology; practical spiritual purification; prophetology and the interplay of spiritual authority and influence (*wilāya*/*walāya*); and the careful integration of ultimate human ends within a wider earthly framework of justice, equally attentive to social-ethical and, more explicitly, political contexts and instrumentalities. Of course, these different elements of his political philosophy are carefully scattered throughout his major independent works – just as in the classical writings of both Ibn ʻArabi and Farabi, and they are most often expressed in the guise of those technical Islamic and Imami Shiʻite vocabularies that by his time had become the standard vehicles for discussing more universal philosophical consideration of politically and religiously sensitive topics. But those key rhetorical methods of 'scattering', like this complexly multivalent technical religio-philosophical vocabulary, were quite familiar to educated Iranian philosophical readers and writers in his time, and they remain so, to a great extent, down to the present day.

The core of Dr Toussi's carefully documented argument in this pioneering book turns on his understanding of Ṣadrā's political philosophy as a fruitful intellectual marriage between the disparate but ultimately complementary perspectives

of Ibn Sina (Avicenna) and Ibn ‘Arabi – whose interplay in framing his original metaphysical theses is almost universally acknowledged – together with a providentially rediscovered political focus and emphases that are clearly drawn from several key political writings of Farabi, the ‘Second Teacher’ (of philosophy, after Aristotle). Based on the arguments developed here, Mullā Ṣadrā’s creative and far-reaching assimilation of Farabi’s centrally political focus in philosophy should eventually lead to a wider rethinking of those standard accounts of Islamic philosophy that have portrayed Farabi’s serious philosophical influence in the Muslim world as largely coming to an end with the classical political philosophy articulated by Ibn Rushd (Averroes) and his followers or with the later solitary genius of Ibn Khaldun.

Toussi’s comprehensive account of Ṣadrā’s political philosophy begins with a careful description and analysis of the complex ways that classical political issues were deeply exemplified, throughout his life, in the dramatic particulars of his tumultuous historical and personal setting. As his magisterial opening chapter makes clear, the philosophical reflections and alternative political visions articulated throughout Ṣadrā’s writings have their background in the contemporary Safavid rulers’ striving to create and effectively institutionalize a more stable political and religio-ideological framework of acceptably ‘legitimate’ authority and popular allegiance that would help to ensure their ongoing dynastic rule amidst their dynamic, constantly turbulent Iranian setting, vis-à-vis a daunting range of conflicting regional political claims and forces, military, social and economic. Besides the shifting ‘external’ threats (and occasional trade and diplomatic alliances) of the Ottomans, Uzbeks, Timurid/Mogul claimants, Portuguese, Russians and others, those competing potential frameworks of internal political authority and legitimacy – each representing classical alternatives throughout earlier centuries, both in that region and across the wider Muslim world – included the following key alternatives: multiple regionalized tribal alliances; momentarily powerful (but highly fragile) charismatic, semi-messianic sacred figures, both Sunni and Shi‘ite – often vaguely associated with existing ‘Sufi’ family lineages – leading particular tribal or ethnic coalitions (as with Shah Ismail and the establishment of the Safavids themselves); and politically influential religious scholars in the region’s widely scattered urban centres of learning, here including various parties of local and imported Imami Shi‘ite scholars suddenly (in alliance with their new Safavid sponsors) violently claiming sole legitimacy in relation to the competing influence of long established local lineages of scholars and urban Sufi brotherhoods in cities like Ṣadrā’s own native Shiraz.

Against that unstable and perilous historical backdrop – one is immediately reminded of the times of a Plato, Shakespeare or Machiavelli – Dr Toussi highlights the uniqueness and political sensitivity of Ṣadrā’s lifelong, courageous personal distancing from the intrigues and blandishments of the Safavid court, despite his fruitful personal relations with many other famous, politically and religiously influential philosopher-theologians of Isfahan in his day. Thus Ṣadrā’s recurrent choice of a kind of “internal exile” (from the Safavid court), focusing on the potential longer-range influence of his prolific independent writing and

teaching – combined with his passionately engaged, intentionally constructive reflection and judgement of contemporary (and future) political alternatives – suggests the stance of emblematic figures like Farabi or Plato rather than the direct personal political engagement more commonly typified by such key Islamic philosopher-viziers as Avicenna, Averroes, Ibn Khaldun and Nasir al-Din Tusi.

The remaining chapters of Dr Toussi's skilful synthesis of Ṣadrā's political philosophy follow an order and logic familiar to any student of Farabi's political philosophy, beginning with an account of the 'final cause' of human perfection, then moving on to the broad forms of justice and ethics needed to actualize that perfection, and finally turning to the prerequisites of the ideal state and to the more practical, indispensable forms of political and religious leadership that are always needed in order to bring that philosophical vision to more active fruition. It should be emphasised – especially for the many readers of this English volume who are likely to be quite unfamiliar with Ṣadrā's philosophical writings, given the paucity of translations to date – that the author has provided a masterful, readily assimilated summary of Ṣadrā's thought at each stage of this argument. Without exaggeration, each of these chapters could (and indeed one day should) be readily expanded into a complete book of its own, simply by translating a more complete selection of the many relevant passages that are scattered throughout this philosopher's major works.

The philosophical starting point of this study, as of Ṣadrā's own political philosophy, lies in his widely scattered accounts of epistemology and philosophical psychology, which are expressed – in different works and contexts, for differing audiences – both in philosophical language and in a highly technical religious symbolism already fully elaborated in the voluminous earlier writings of Ibn 'Arabi and his subsequent interpreters. The author has pulled together this complex yet clearly developed account of the human soul's development and gradual perfection, spanning life in this world and further stages of growth and transformation in the intermediate spiritual realms of the *barzakh*, while focusing on Ṣadrā's complex assimilation of the spiritual perspectives of Ibn 'Arabi and an immense range of earlier Sufi and Shi'ite thinkers within the familiar philosophical language and epistemology grounded in the works of Avicenna. The range of processes and practices necessarily involved in translating this broad theoretical account of spiritual psychology and epistemology into actual spiritual realisation – which Ṣadrā usually discusses, following his many Sufi sources here, in terms of a spiritually focused account of individual 'ethics' (*akhlāq*) – is so complex that the author has promised a separate forthcoming volume entirely devoted to this subject.

The following chapters here on the role of justice and the ideal state in the attainment of human perfection are those in which the author most directly highlights the inspiration of Farabi's political thought and writings. He clearly shows how they provided Ṣadrā an essentially clarifying, explicitly universal philosophical context for issues that had previously been raised only in broader, safely remote historical settings in the classical religious writings of both Sufi thinkers (again, pre-eminently in the works of Ibn 'Arabi) and early Shi'ite sources,

particularly the influential collection of *Nahj al-Balāgha* and other writings attributed to Imam Ali.

Finally, this study concludes with an illuminating summary of Ṣadrā's discussion of the complex demands and prerequisites of both lawgiving (including its just interpretation and proper application) and political leadership. These are perennially sensitive and unavoidably controversial issues that Mullā Ṣadrā normally presents, following the deeply influential example of Avicenna, in terms of a standard normative Islamic vocabulary that had long been capable (as all of Ṣadrā's readers were well aware) of an immense and intensely problematic spectrum of practical interpretation and application. Since history has curiously determined that these classical issues, interpretations and vocabulary now provide again the operative rhetorical language of practical political life in contemporary Iran, the author has presented Ṣadrā's discussions of these key political issues largely in the philosopher's own terms, while prudently leaving it to his astute readers to apply to these open-ended religious formulations the determinative universal philosophical insights and ethical perspectives that were more openly developed in the preceding chapters. In doing so, he follows Ṣadrā's own example.

To sum up, discerning readers will discover in Dr Toussi's pioneering account of Ṣadrā's political philosophy a remarkably direct, accessible and yet provocative work of genuine philosophical reflection, which is at the same time a thorough and reliable new contribution to the wider history of Islamic philosophy. We can only hope that this groundbreaking study will open the doors to the many further tasks of translation, communication and wide-ranging interpretation that are still needed to make the perspectives of this singular thinker – with his unique and persuasively unified synthesis of spiritual, intellectual, ethical and political perspectives – more accessible to the wider, global audiences that he deserves. For as we have indicated, this volume is not just about 'political philosophy' as yet another particular and limited facet of Ṣadrā's overall system: rather, it is about properly contextualizing and understanding the guiding intentions and inspirations that in fact unify and underlie all of his creative philosophical endeavour.

James W. Morris (Boston College)
November 2019

Abbreviations of the journals, encyclopaedia and edited books

AcA	Acta Analytica
APh	Asian Philosophy
Ar	Arabic
ASPh	Arabic Sciences and Philosophy (Paris)
BEIPh	Biographical Encyclopaedia of Islamic Philosophy
BJHPh	British Journal for the History of Philosophy
BJS	The British Journal of Sociology
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
DI	Der Islam
DWI	Die Welt des Islams
EI	Encyclopaedia of Islam, new edition (Leiden)
EIMW	Encyclopaedia of Islam and Muslim World
EIO	Encyclopædia Iranica Online
EIr	Encyclopaedia Iranica
Er	Eranos
ER	Encyclopedia of Religion
EsExH	Eschatology, Exegesis, Hadith, Islam–West Philosophical Dialogue
HI	Hamdard Islamicus (Karachi)
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
Ḥu	Ḥuḍūr
IaS	Islam and Science
IJCPM	An International Journal for Comparative Philosophy and Mysticism
IJMES	International Journal of Middle East Studies
IJPCS	International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society
IJRB	Interdisciplinary Journal of Contemporary Research in Business
Ir	Iran
IrS	Iranian Studies
IS	Islamic Studies (Islamabad)
ISRAI	‘Ilm: Science, Religion and Art in Islam
IUI	Ilāhiyyat va ‘Ulūm Islami
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JESHO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
JḤ	Journal of Ḥawzah

JHS	The Journal of Hellenic Studies
JIRI	Journal of the Islamic Research Institute
JIS	Journal of Islamic Studies (Oxford)
JJTPh	Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy
JPS	Journal of Political Sciences
JSIS	Journal of Shi‘a Islamic Studies
JTPh	Journal Transcendent Philosophy
ḤI	Hukumat Islami (Journal)
KA	Kayhān Andīshe
KhNS	Kherad Nāmeh-yi Sadra
MN	Mehr Nāmeh
MPhT	Mediaeval Philosophy and Theology
MS	Mediaeval Studies (Toronto)
MSIWD	Mulla Sadra and Transcendent Philosophy: Islam–West Philosophical Dialogue
MUIM	Māhnāmey-yi ‘Ulūm Insāī, Mehnāmeh
MW	Muslim World (Hartford, CN)
NF	Nāme-yi Farhang
NTI	Namey-yi Tarīkh Islam
OSAP	Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy
PḤ	Pegāh Ḥawzah
PhI	Philosophia Islamica
REPh	Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy
PEIPT	The Princeton Encyclopedia of Islamic Political Thought
RS	Religious Studies
SATC	Seventh Annual Telos Conference
SAWITD	Substance and Attribute Western and Islamic Traditions in Dialogue
ṢE	Ṣub-i Emrūz
SEPh	Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy
Sga	Studia graeco-arabica
SI	Studia Islamica (Paris)
SIr	Studia Iranica (Paris)
ṢJIS	al-Ṣerāt: A Journal of Islamic Studies
SoP	Sophia Perennis
SR	Studies in the Renaissance
UVMC	Unity and Variety in Muslim Civilization
WCM	World Congress on Mullā Ṣadrā
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morganländischen Gesellschaft

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Political philosophy of Mullā Ṣadrā

Introduction

Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Yaḥyā al-Qawām al-Shirazi Mullā Ṣadrā (d. 1050/1640), best known as Mullā Ṣadrā, founded a new philosophical school of transcendent philosophy (*al-ḥikmat al-muta'ālīyya*)[1] that is characterised by a conciliatory approach towards three major intellectual traditions in Islam. Mullā Ṣadrā's philosophy has received huge attention in Muslim and Western academia, particularly over the last few decades, and scholarship on his life, times and intellectual connections has grown exponentially.[2]

Ṣadrā's main concern was finding a way of discovering metaphysical and ontological realities and of understanding the true message of sacred texts. He knew the hermeneutic of such texts had been a fundamental theological–philosophical dilemma throughout the history of Islamic thought. Therefore, he subjects nearly all of the major problems of traditional philosophy to the fourfold scrutiny of Qur'anic and hadith teachings, philosophical demonstration and intuitive knowledge. The tension between discursive analytical philosophy (*ḥikmat al-baḥthī*) and intuitive knowledge (*al-'ilm al-shuhūdī*) had already been noted and described as an impediment to realised knowledge by the Islamic Illuminationists (*Ishrāqīyyūn*), who had attempted to reconcile discursive thought, represented primarily by the Peripatetics (*Mashshā'īn*), with intuitional knowledge, as exemplified by Sufi metaphysicians (*'urafā*) such as Ibn al-'Arabī. Being aware of the importance of these epistemological and methodological concerns, Ṣadrā gave priority to establishing a new systematic model of thought. Keeping the two models of the Peripatetics and Illuminationists in mind, he took things a step further by articulating the unity of revelation, reasoned demonstration (*burhān*) and intuitional knowledge. Ṣadrā's unifying perspective runs through all his chapters on Islamic philosophy and avoids any segregation of the metaphysical, ontological and epistemological. As a result, there is consensus among readers of his philosophy that he is the first philosopher to reconcile the transmitted sciences of Shi'i Islam (*al-'ulūm al-naqliyya*), including those of the Qur'an, hadith and Shari'a, with the rational and intuitional sciences (*al-'ulūm al-'aqliyya wa al-shuhūdiyya*), including Islamic philosophy, theology and mysticism. Given this perspective on his legacy, many readers of transcendent philosophy believed that

Ṣadrā devoted his thought mainly to speculative rather than practical philosophy, such as ethics and politics.

In order to offer the formulations with which I wish to conduct and engage in a critical analysis of the practical aspects of Ṣadrā's philosophy, I specifically intend to illustrate in the present volume that (1) one of Mullā Ṣadrā's main concerns was the ultimate destiny of humanity in this world and the next, which is the achievement of a state of proximity to God through the spiritual journey; (2) according to Ṣadrā's primary texts, as we will cite, he was aware of the sickness within contemporary society at the time and its corrupt politics, and he chose to treat this socio-political problem by forming a true and accurate picture of the person in relation to society; (3) for Ṣadrā, politics alone is unable to bring about true happiness, justice and prosperity, as long as men and women do not realise that humanity is forgetful (*ghāfilīn*) by nature; people forget their true selves and are thus deprived of their humanity because they turn away from the reality of 'existence' (*wujūd*);[3] (4) to counteract this ethico-epistemological shortcoming of his society, he brings the people back to the ontological question of the truth of existence (*haqīqat al-wujūd*) and announces that whoever is ignorant of the significance of this concept is ignorant of the most crucial aspect of human knowledge; the more one knows of the truth of one's existence and reality, the more pious one becomes, and this is in fact the means through which one knows how to live a good life[4] and is enabled to ascend to the highest heavenly host.[5] This is a transcendent vision of human life in which purifying the soul in both personal and social life should be everyone's priority; (5) for Ṣadrā, philosophy and mysticism, unlike our contemporary speculations that are confined to academics, are thus relevant to practical life and have a therapeutic purpose aimed at the development and perfection of humanity on its spiritual journey. This seems to echo the French poet and thinker Paul Valéry, who said: 'Politics is the art of preventing people from busying themselves with what is their own business'.

The aforementioned key points serve as a window to concepts, narratives and arguments borrowed from Ṣadrā's work, offering a new perspective on political philosophy. In order to do this, I searched out these concepts throughout all his material, encompassing psychology, ontology, epistemology, metaphysics, and the like, including some that relate to our discussion and analysis only indirectly. In light of the findings in this present study, readers may discover responses to essential questions regarding transcendent philosophy, as to why Mullā Ṣadrā neither wrote any book or treatise specifically on politics nor ever claimed that his philosophy was directly concerned with politics. In addition, he stayed aloof from the Safavid court, condemned any sort of cooperation with the state, and believed that disorder in religion starts when the 'ulamā (scholars who interpret the Islamic sciences and law) associate themselves with worldly rulers and kings.[6] He describes such scholars as those who seek political fame.[7]

Due to this gnostic attitude to politics and his non-political works, Ṣadrā is recognised as an apolitical philosopher and a key member of the seventeenth-century mystic-philosophical school of Isfahan, which militated against the formation of any political form of Islam. In contrast with this radical view, there are

advocates of a political Islam nowadays who, especially in Iran, attempt to portray the founder of the 1979 Islamic Revolution, Ayatollah Khomeini, as an inspired jurist-philosopher who established his doctrine of *wilāyat al-faqīh* according to Ṣadrā's philosophy.[8]

Through a new investigation into Ṣadrā's primary sources, the present study will shed light on this matter and specifically explore and analyse the intricate relationship between his philosophy and politics. This analysis should reveal that Ṣadrā's discourse on politics cannot be interpreted as a discursive springboard for the establishment of the guardianship of the jurist (*wilāyat al-faqīh*), as is commonplace in contemporary Iran, nor does the mystical attitude of his philosophy, with its emphasis on the inner aspects of religion, promote an idea of quietism or that of a fundamental separation of religion and politics. Therefore, having introduced a fresh picture of the political philosophy in Ṣadrā's thought, this study will challenge the approaches of those authors of extant secondary literature who consider him a theoretician of the political authority of the jurist, as well as those who have categorised Ṣadrā among the completely apolitical gnostic philosophers.

Approaches to the political aspect of transcendent philosophy

In Shi'a academic centres, among teachers, students and those devoted to transcendent philosophy, Ṣadrā is traditionally known as a thinker whose philosophy is a spiritual 'path of enlightenment', not just a new school of thought that reconciled speculative philosophy and mysticism. For such as these, it is through an experience of pure mystical consciousness that Ṣadrā has expressed and analysed the most delicate issues of ontology, metaphysics, cosmology, eschatology and the philosophical issues relating to the human soul. This dominant mystical and apolitical approach to transcendent philosophy, focusing on the mysterious notion of 'existence' (*wujūd*) and the doctrine of the unity of existence (*waḥdat al-wujūd*), asserts that transcendent philosophy should be described as *ḥikma*.[9]

Over the past few decades, numerous studies in European languages have revealed that transcendent philosophy is a multivocal discourse; thence they have contributed to a new movement in which some new aspects of Ṣadrā's philosophy have been studied, although the esoteric interpretation of transcendent philosophy is in many ways still a dominant approach. Henry Corbin (1903–1978) and Sayyed Hossein Nasr (b. 1933) were the first two scholars to make a significant contribution to transcendent philosophy by introducing it to Western intellectuals as '*ḥikma*', which they translated into English as 'theosophy' and described as an essentially esoteric and arcane discipline that expresses an 'interior and apolitical way of life' centred on transcendent philosophy.[10]

Hossein Nasr regards Ṣadrā as a 'theosopher'[11] who is devoted to the gnostic dimension of religion. He has not overlooked an exoteric aspect, in the sense of practical ethics for the soul's development in Ṣadrā's philosophy, but has no interest in Ṣadrā's political philosophy.[12] In his article, 'Theoretical Gnosis and Doctrinal Sufism and Their Significance Today' (2005),[13] Nasr explains the influence of Ṣadrā's mysticism (*'irfān*) on the Shi'a political jurists-philosophers, especially

Ayatollah Khomeini, but he has not considered the political dimensions of Ṣadrā's doctrines of the spiritual journey and his in-depth discussion of the concepts of the Imamate and *wilāya*. Indeed, although Nasr's approach to Ṣadrā's philosophy hardly suggests any convergence between Ṣadrā's philosophy and politics, he tells us that if every person practised the religious tradition with understanding, the whole of society would be reformed, an idea that seems inspired by Ṣadrā's political message. In his 2014 translation (with the assistance of Ibrahim Kalin) of *al-Mashā'ir*,[14] Nasr still shows his tendency towards a traditional approach to transcendent philosophy.

For Henry Corbin, Mullā Ṣadrā is the original luminary in the history of Islamic thought.[15] He suggests that Ṣadrā, like Suhrawardī (d.1191), was essentially a Platonist and should be seen as comparable to those of the well-known circle of Cambridge Platonists, such as Henry More (1614–1687) and Descartes.[16] Corbin was fascinated by the discussion of the intermediate realm (*'ālam al-mithāl*) in Suhrawardī's works, which according to him was the key issue for the posthumous birth of the soul but was neglected in the West, resulting in the Western rational and empirical philosophies. He therefore penetrated this field and later found that Islamic philosophers, especially the Iranians, had dealt with it. Corbin's leaving the realm of Western philosophy to devote himself to Islamic philosophy has usually been considered as a radical rupture in his philosophical thought, whereas in his view there was in fact no contradiction but rather a deep continuity in his philosophical path guided by a unique quest for being. He was therefore deeply influenced both by Heidegger's major issue of 'being qua being' and Ṣadrā's concept of the 'fundamental reality of being'. Corbin, in an original introduction to his translation of Ṣadrā's *al-Mashā'ir*, made a critical comparative analysis between Sadrian and continental existentialism. Devising a common hermeneutic for comparative philosophy remained at the heart of Corbin's work in order to discern realities beyond the phenomenal and extricate ourselves from historicism.[17] In his studies, Corbin tries fundamentally to examine the social and political impact of the true followers of Avicenna and Suhrawardī and the extent to which the impact is in conformity with the beliefs of Shi'a orthodoxy in Iran.[18] However, despite his strong interest in Ṣadrā's philosophy and his awareness of Ṣadrā's unique and comprehensive philosophical system,[19] he does not dwell in equal measure on the social and political aspects of his philosophy or on Ṣadrā's impact on the political and social thought of his students in later centuries. In his discussions on the concepts of *'ālam al-mithāl*, the substantial perfection of the human soul on the return journey to the spiritual realm, and even in his investigation of *wilāya* in both Ṣadrā and elsewhere in Shi'a belief, he shows no interest in any political implications of these concepts, nor does he speak of any social involvement by the wayfarer in the fourth journey, as did his favourite philosophers.

Another solid contribution to a first generation in English of Ṣadrā's transcendent philosophy is that of Toshihiko Izutsu (1914–1993), who offers a concise examination of Ṣadrā's philosophy as a case study of 'oriental philosophy'. Izutsu studied transcendent philosophy mostly through his great interpreter, Hājj Mullā

Hādī Sabzavārī[20] (1833–1910), during mystical and philosophical (*ḥikma*) debates on Sadrian ontology, metaphysics and, in particular, 'Being' as a concept beyond the level of archetypes. He furnishes his precise studies within metaphysical ideas and focuses on their Avicennan and Suhrawardian roots, which he has found in the works of many Islamic, Buddhist and, to a greater extent, Taoist philosophers, as well as in Heidegger's (1889–1976) philosophy of Being. This is an area that he considers important for any dialogue between Western and Eastern civilisations.[21] In his work, *Ethico-Religious Concepts in the Qur'an*,[22] Izutsu analyses the guiding spirit of the Islamic moral code, the basic ethical relationship between man and God. Izutsu explores these themes by employing ethno-linguistics, a theory of the interrelationships between cultural linguistic patterns, to analyse the semantic structure of major concepts in the Qur'an. He, like Nasr and Corbin, has examined Islam in a mystical and symbolic way and considers Sufi visionary language as a statement of the archetypal logopoeia, that is to say, as communication derived from the imaginal world (*'ālam al-mithāl*) or the realm of archetypal meanings (*'alām al-ma'nā*), understood as the expression of precise symbolic meanings working systematically at a supra-conscious associative level. Due to his esoteric interpretation of transcendent philosophy, in his discussion of imaginative perception as the soul's power to form images and perceive, he does not touch upon the cornerstone of Ṣadrā's political doctrine, on the idea of the identification of knowledge with power, as he does not explain the ontological status of prophecy and the importance of the imaginal realm (*'ālam al-mithāl*) from any political aspect, as Fārābī and Ṣadrā do. As addressed in Chapter 7, according to Ṣadrā, a strong imaginal faculty enables the perfect man to dwell at the border between the rational and sensible faculties. At this high rank of perfection, one can attain the ability to see immaterial and divine beings whilst still living in the material and bodily realm. In Sadrian language, this is the status of unity in multiplicity that the prophets should attain in order to receive a message for this worldly multiplicity from the realm of divine unity.[23]

James W. Morris follows the tradition of Corbin and Nasr and regards Ṣadrā as an esoteric and mystically inclined thinker. He pays considerable attention to Ṣadrā's psychology and epistemology. In his translation of *al-Ḥikmat al-'Arshiyya*,[24] with substantial annotations, Morris sees Ṣadrā as an oppositional intellect in the midst of exoteric jurists opposed to mysticism and philosophy. He examines the esoteric language in Ṣadrā's philosophy of the human soul (*'ilm al-nafs*) and finds a persecuted oppositional intellect among exoteric jurists. He discusses in mystical language the relationship of the soul and the body and the concept of perfection; the concept of knowledge and man's noetic realisation; and the stages of the soul's journey and its role in transcending the self, which may be considered as a step towards Ṣadrā's practical philosophy. He also presents a significant discourse on the issue of *wilāya*, with useful cross-references to important passages from some of Ṣadrā's other writings, but he avoids advocating an esoteric hermeneutical reading of the text that would emphasise the politics, while insisting that Ṣadrā's philosophy has the potential for establishing a new political philosophy.[25]

French scholar Christian Jambet, in his *The Act of Being: The Philosophy of Revelation in Mullā Ṣadrā* (2006),[26] approaches transcendent philosophy in the same way. In his brief inquiry into Ṣadrā's interpretation of the Qur'anic verse (2:256), which states that '*there is no compulsion in religion*,' Jambet says that Ṣadrā reveals himself here, as one would expect, to be more concerned with an apolitical interpretation of this verse than anything else.[27] In his study, Jambet attempts to show convincing arguments that for Ṣadrā, 'religion' is understood in its deepest sense to be an interior matter.[28]

Fazlur Rahman (1919–1988), in his *The Philosophy of Mullā Ṣadrā* (1975), is uninterested in the mystical aspects of Ṣadrā's philosophy and interprets him within an Avicennan framework. Despite his great attention to the rationalistic aspects of Islam and Islamic philosophy, Rahman provides a Qur'anic perspective on philosophical concepts.[29] In addition, Rahman addresses political and social concerns with a legalistic and discursive focus in accord with revivalist and reformist thought. In particular, one also finds Rahman's thought characterised by the ethical orientation of Muslim society, based on key Qur'anic terms like *imān*, *Islam* and *taqwā*, and thus his approach to Ṣadrā implicitly downplays the importance of the practical aspects of transcendent philosophy, so that the analysis of Ṣadrā in his book is devoted to a debate on purely philosophical concepts such as essence and existence, with particular reference to Ibn Sīnā.[30]

Other serious contributions were made by later generations of English-reading scholars. Latima-Parvin Peerwani's interest in Ṣadrā stems from his philosophy of the soul. In this regard, she finds that Ṣadrā deals with the depth of the human psyche in a way far surpassing the Freudian, Jungian and Rogerian psychologies that have been in vogue since the twentieth century. Ṣadrā's philosophy recognises the multiple levels of the human soul, its maladies and cures, and its posthumous birth. In this sense, in Peerwani's view, one of the core issues in Ṣadrā's philosophy is ethics, through which he deals with the human soul and its perfection. In her translation of Ṣadrā's interpretation of the verses of *al-Nūr*,[31] she studies Ṣadrā's hermeneutic of the scriptural language, which is inextricably connected to his philosophy of the soul. Man understands the divine scripture according to the level of his soul; the better he is regarding his ethical and spiritual practices, the higher and deeper his soul is in understanding and following the divine signs. In the introduction to her translation of two volumes of *Asfār*,[32] Peerwani very briefly highlights many of those Sadrian issues that have been considered in my study as the basis for Ṣadrā's practical philosophy, such as substantial motion, the soul–body relation, the human soul's creativity, and the four spiritual journeys.

Maria Dakake has coincidentally touched on some of the issues related to Ṣadrā's politics that we discuss in our study. In her 'The Soul as Barzakh: Substantial Motion and Mullā Sadrā's Theory of Human Becoming,'[33] she presents a general account of Ṣadrā's theory of the soul's development in the light of Ṣadrā's principle of substantial motion. The author's focus is on Ṣadrā's consideration of the soul's Return as an event that completes human development, and this principle becomes one of the main premises in explaining the meaning of the Return. Having raised the old problem of soul–body dichotomy, Dakake attempts to solve

it according to the paradigm of Ṣadrā's ontology of the human soul but does not indicate any political implications of the issues related to the soul such as the fourth spiritual journey, the development of the soul and its conduct with physical multiplicities, and the like.[34]

Sajjad Rizvi's contribution to transcendent philosophy, together with his scholarly research on Ṣadrā's bibliography and the history of his philosophical legacy,[35] has received a good reception within English-speaking academia. In his 2009 *Mullā Sadrā and Metaphysics: Modulation of Being*,[36] Rizvi states the problem of 'modulation of being' (*tashkīk*) as the central issue of Sadrian ontology and facilitates our understanding of Ṣadrā's position on a wide variety of important philosophical issues. According to Rizvi, Ṣadrā has extended the normal understanding of the modulation of being beyond the simple division of the two realms of mental and concrete existence to bring out the semantics of being, showing 'being-in-language' as critical to Sadrian semantic theory, something that has often been neglected. In his volume, without no political inferences, Rizvi examines the 'circle of being' or the descending and ascending arc of being within Ṣadrā's Shi'i notion of *wilāya*, the most intense degree of being and the 'last' degree before the culmination of the return to the One. In one of his articles, 'Philosophy as a Way of Life in the World of Islam: Applying Hadot to the Study of Mullā Ṣadrā',[37] without hinting at any ethical or political implications, Rizvi asserts that a proper understanding of Ṣadrā's philosophy requires an appreciation of philosophy in the Neoplatonic sense of 'a way of life' that is often closely related to spiritual practice and religious commitment.

Ibrahim Kalin, in his 2010 volume on Ṣadrā's epistemology,[38] has focused on the idea of knowledge as a mode of being (*naḥw al-wujūd*). This is a well researched work and provides a wealth of information about Ṣadrā's doctrine on the relationship between the subjective and objective realities, as well as the existential relationship between the soul and the known subject. Although major English contributions by Western scholars like Nasr, Corbin, Morris and Rizvi have emended the situation, Ibrahim Kalin's study on Ṣadrā's epistemology was a welcome addition to the literature, all the more so considering that the main focus of earlier Ṣadrā scholarship was on his metaphysics. Kalin starts from what Ṣadrā is best known for, i.e., the doctrine of the primacy of existence over quiddity (*aṣālat al-wujūd*) and the related idea of degrees of existence (*tashkīk al-wujūd*). Given these two major Ṣadrā's doctrines, knowledge should be understood first and foremost as a mode of existence that is known in a single act of existence. This treatment ultimately provides the basis for understanding Ṣadrā's exceptionally broad vision of the unification of intellect and the intelligible (*itiḥād al-'āqil wal ma'qūl*), one of Ṣadrā's most important epistemological ideas. The main body of Kalin's book is appended by an English translation of a brief treatise by Ṣadrā devoted to this doctrine, by which Ṣadrā establishes his thesis of the soul's substantial evolution in his volumes on the human soul in *Asfār*. It is interesting to note that in this and his other works on knowledge in Ṣadrā's philosophy,[39] Kalin offers no observations on any political implication of the ways in which knowledge is a form of existential perfection and power in the human soul.

There is recent research on some aspects of Ṣadrā's political thought in *Knowledge and Power in the Philosophies of Ḥamīd al-Dīn Kirmānī and Mullā Ṣadrā Shirazi* (2018) by Sayeh Meisami. The author addresses the philosophical link between the theoretical and practical philosophies of Ḥamīd al-Dīn Kirmānī's (d. 412/1021) and Mullā Ṣadrā. Meisami interprets Ṣadrā's discussions on knowledge and authority as a discursive foundation for the political authority of the jurist. To support this claim, she cites Ṣadrā with inadequate analysis of his statements and the context in which he speaks about the jurists. In this study, through many evidences, we shall show that according to Ṣadrā, the jurist has speculative knowledge and at most may have mastery of the Shari'a but has no mastery over understanding the real, inner meaning of the Qur'an (*ta'wīl al-Qur'an*) or rational science (*al-'ulūm al-'aqliyya*) and ethics. They are only experts in secondary issues regarding Islamic jurisprudence, such as divorce, manumission, imprecation, commerce and inheritance, which in fact can even distance one from spirituality if one does not have an inner knowledge of Islam.[40]

Apart from this crucial misunderstanding, Meisami, inspired by the French philosopher Michel Foucault (1926–1984), presents an interesting discussion with regard to her hypothesis of the human knowledge–power dynamic and her excellent comparison between Kirmānī and Ṣadrā. She demonstrates this theory within the philosophical discourse of a Shi'i background and the influence of such a dynamic on contemporary Shi'i region-political discourse. However, she has not involved the fundamental principles of Ṣadrā's philosophy by which he explains the ontological relationship between knowledge and power. In our analysis of this particular issue, through Ṣadrā's major philosophical concepts and arguments in chapters 2 and 7, we elucidate the mechanism of the knowledge–power relationship and the multidimensional character of his philosophical system, which support a discursive foundation for the establishment of Shi'i political authority based on such knowledge.

There is much other secondary literature on different theoretical aspects of Ṣadrā's thought, such as works on his interpretation of the Qurʾan and hadith[41] and on his chapters regarding eschatology and philosophy of the mind, as well as comparative studies on him and other philosophers, but within the confines of this study, I shall focus on the literature on Ṣadrā's politics, all of which is in Persian.[42]

During the last few decades, especially after the Islamic Revolution in Iran, a considerable amount of attention was paid by Persian scholars to the political aspects of Ṣadrā's oeuvre. The Islamic orientation of the 1979 Iranian Revolution, with its charismatic mystic-philosopher leader, had a huge and rapid influence on scholars and students in this field in the universities and seminaries (*ḥawza*) and promptly evoked in them a political form of Islam. Many writers and researchers, especially those who were enchanted with the Islamic Revolution and often worked in governmental centres and institutions, attempted to explain the apparent resurgence of Shi'a Islam in Iran. Therefore, unlike studies on Ṣadrā and transcendent philosophy prior to the Revolution that mainly viewed him simply as a mystic-philosopher, in these recent decades, under the political influence of the Islamic government, the prevailing approach to Ṣadrā's politics attempts to show

that the leader of the Revolution, his ideas on the religious state, and the unconditional political authority of the jurist (*wilāyat al-muṭlaqa al-faqīh*) are inspired by the most solid school of philosophy of the last four hundred years, i.e., the transcendent philosophy of Mullā Ṣadrā.

For example, in the first published volume directly concerned with Ṣadrā's political thought (1381 Sh/2003),[43] Najaf Lakzā'ī claims that Ṣadrā is an advocate of the political authority of jurists. After giving some information about Ṣadrā's life and works, he presents a general discussion on the specifications of a religious government, its necessity and its duties. Lakzā'ī does a good job in providing numerous quotations from Ṣadrā about the necessity of a leader in society and argues in favour of Ṣadrā's words on the essential existence of the imams and their true successors after the Twelfth Iman, 'the universal order is maintained through the presence of the divine Man. It is because of the imams that the heavens and the earth are maintained. Some positions of imams will be cut and some will remain during their absence. The duty of guiding (*hidāya*) the people and interpreting the Shari'a have been inherited by the jurists, so they have the right to give *fatwā* on behalf of the imams, though they give it differently'.[44] Najaf Lakzā'ī does not, however, fully demonstrate how Ṣadrā's statements regarding such a position demonstrate the political authority of the jurist.

Sharīf Lakzā'ī, in his study of Ṣadrā's politics (1395 Sh/ 2016),[45] deals with his political views with the same approach and attempts to prove that a versatile philosophical basis for the political authority of the jurist should be sought in transcendent philosophy. He presents a useful chronological discussion on Ṣadrā's work and the development of Ṣadrā's political themes during three periods of his life. Another aspect of Sh. Lakzā'ī's study is his discussion of certain ethical features in Ṣadrā's politics, such as the love of humanity. Apart from this useful information, when the author comes to the main political points discussed throughout the eight chapters, he again provides further support to those studies that endorse the concept of the political authority of jurists.

There are, however, some other studies focused on other aspects of Ṣadrā's political philosophy. Abulḥasan Ḥasanī, in his short volume (1389 Sh/2013),[46] invites the reader of Ṣadrā's thought to review his philosophy of the human soul, ontology and epistemology from a different perspective. He believes that by doing so, we can find new solutions for modern dilemmas that face humanity today. Ḥasanī presents a very brief discussion on Ṣadrā's moral philosophy and on the relationship between his moral principles and politics. The central thesis of Ḥasanī, however, is his arguments on 'being really rational and religious' or on 'rationality and religiosity' in political philosophy. He suggests four kinds of rationality: rational epistemological-politics (*aqlāniyyat-i ma'rifat-shināKhtī sīyāsa*), rational semantic-politics (*aqlāniyyat-i ma'nā-shināKhtī sīyāsa*), rational ethical-politics (*aqlāniyyat-i akhlāq-i sīyāsa*) and rational instrumental-politics (*aqlāniyyat-i abzārī-i sīyāsa*). The first would help us distinguish the extra-mental/objective political concepts from the subjective, the second would save humanity from political nihilism, the third would rescue politics from corruption and injustice, and the fourth would suggest a model of secular politics within Ṣadrā's

rational philosophy. Hasanī claims that the model of Ṣadrā's politics is capable of reconciling and benefiting from all four rationalities within a single framework. Transcendent politics is based on existential reality within certain moral principles, which suggests a transcendent aim (divine destiny) for humanity whilst still benefiting from human reason and secular politics.

The structure and contents of the book

This book has seven chapters in addition to the introduction and concluding notes.

Chapter 1 exposes new aspects of Ṣadrā's life and very briefly examines the social situation of his time and the origin of the socio-political views of a philosopher who was contemporaneous with the five Safavid kings and a central player in that flowering of Persianate culture under the Safavids. We know very little about his personal and social life; nevertheless, in addition to a few scattered items of historical information, there are important passages in Ṣadrā's oeuvre, such as *Seh Aṣl* and *Kasr Aṣnām al-Jāhiliyya*, and in the introductions to some of his work like *Asfār*, that give us reliable information about him. The benefit of these sources lies in Ṣadrā's own criticism of his contemporary scholars and his challenges to those whom he believed had no true knowledge of religion and metaphysics. Relying on these primary sources, the first chapter reveals Ṣadrā's correlation and dispute with theologians (*mutakallimūn*), literalists (*zūhirīyyūn*) or Akhbārīs, jurists and extreme mystics (*ghālī Sufis*) who have championed the opposition to his mystico-philosophical intellect. We will present an analytical discourse on the context surrounding Ṣadrā, including his opposition to the aforementioned trends followed by scholars and by particular 'ulamās allied with the government, as well as the contemporary Safavid kings, in order to fill in aspects of key assumptions about the nature of his political and social attitudes, which are essential for a more holistic understanding of his political philosophy.

Chapter 2 is focused on Ṣadrā's philosophy of the human soul (*'ilm al-nafs*) in order to map out the main features of the political aspects of this important part of his philosophy. Through a new approach to Ṣadrā's philosophy of the human being and the spiritual journey, the aim is to show that his narrative of mysticism is an attempt to rethink the relationship between theory and praxis, with a close reciprocal relationship between this world and the next. In contrast to traditional epistemology, Ṣadrā places human knowledge within the larger context of being and makes an ontological link between knowledge and the human soul. Within this paradigm, knowledge is 'realisation', and realisation means that the existence of the human soul 'extends' in an ascending journey from a lower level of being to a higher. Having presented this original view on knowledge, it is proposed that Ṣadrā invests his ontology with an axiological dimension, in that the ontologically higher substance is not only greater in terms of its existential properties but also more perfect, real and worthy, since he believes that ontologically higher existents are closer to the truth and consequently to 'power' and 'authority'. This will be the key premises of our discourse in Chapter 7, when an attempt is made to bring forth Ṣadrā's ideas concerning political authority.

This narrative of Ṣadrā's mysticism and the relationship between knowledge and power requires an understanding of his centrepiece, which is the substantial change (*al-ḥarakat al-jawhariyya*) of the human soul. It is through this interesting doctrine that Ṣadrā introduces the human soul as a dynamic entity, an 'on-going substance' within its own bodily origin; but another remarkable doctrine paves the way for this discourse on substantial change, which is that 'the human soul is bodily in its advent and spiritual in its survival' (*al-nafs jismāniyat al-ḥudūth wa rūḥāniyyat al-baqā*). Through this unique narrative on the nature of the human soul, we shall explain the mechanism of transformation of the human soul from bodily and mundane worldly involvement to the level of the 'spiritual state', the issue that, in Ṣadrā's view, great figures within Islamic philosophy such as Ibn Sīnā and Suhrawardī failed to resolve. The idea of the inception of the soul in bodily existence whilst subsisting spiritually is a step beyond the Neoplatonic idea that the soul requires a physical vehicle for it to move forward. It is an ontological solution for the soul–body dichotomy and a way out of the aporia of mysticism and politics, serving as a means for analysing and interpreting his mystical politics, which are introduced in Chapter 4. In order to elaborate all these doctrines involved in Ṣadrā's political philosophy, it has been necessary to explain how the core elements of this transcendent philosophy, i.e., the 'primacy of existence over quiddity' (*aṣālat al-wujūd*), the 'gradational reality of existence' (*tashkīk al-wujūd*) and the 'unity in multiplicity' (*al-waḥdat fi'l kathra*) can work together to form a new and distinct 'ilm al-nafs' with remarkable political implications. From this fresh approach to Ṣadrā's psychology, it will become apparent that the mysticism in Ṣadrā's thought is not merely an instrumental tool or a strategy adopted by him in relation to societal and political affairs but rather an essential part of the long process of the spiritual journey and the human path to ultimate happiness.

Chapter 3 presents introductory information for our discourse on the characteristics of Ṣadrā's political philosophy that appear in Chapter 4. The initial focus of this chapter is a concise presentation of the main traditional debates among certain eminent scholars of the time on the relations between Islam and politics. The chapter also analyses the importance of this tradition, and Mullā Ṣadrā's key place in it, regarding the contemporary Shi'i-Islamist discourse that took shape prior to the Iranian Revolution of 1979, forming a philosophical foundation whereby the authority of the jurist (*wilāyat al-faqīh*) was established. We then consider the contribution of Ṣadrā to the debate on whether Islam is political or apolitical and whether Ṣadrā is an advocate of a Shi'a hierocracy and the political authority of jurists or an apolitical gnostic philosopher.

In Chapter 4, the unique characteristics of Ṣadrā's mysticism are examined from a different angle. Following an explanation of Ṣadrā's mystical interpretation of the material world, his parallel argument concerning the nexus of the human psyche and this world is presented, where he speaks of two dimensions – the interior and exterior – in the material world, as well as religion as a phenomenon within this world. Interior and exterior permeate all realities, including nature, the human psyche and knowledge, as well as man's understanding of religion

and the divine law. This Ṣadrian mystical understanding of the universe is woven from the concept of 'correspondence' (*taṭbīq*) and the 'gradations of existence' (*tashkīk al-wujūd*), upon which rest the ramifications of Ṣadrā's exceptional narrative regarding politics within his mystical discourse.

The next argument in this respect is that this mystical worldview should not downplay the importance of human reason in his politics. Ṣadrā is known as a philosopher loyal to traditional *fiqh* who recognises the Shari'a as the spirit vis-á-vis the body of politics, yet he nevertheless maintains his philosophical principles and implements his rational methodology as a tool for social law. Therefore, his narrative of the relationship between human wisdom and politics provides compelling evidence for introducing a new interpretation of secularism in his political philosophy, which regards the presence of religion in the public domain as useful and desirable, even though there is justification for organising civil matters according to reason.

Chapter 5 explains Mullā Ṣadrā's theory of justice in general and social justice in particular, which is again reflected in Ṣadrā's mystical account of politics and is based on a threefold scheme of the harmony of being: (1) ethical justice expressed as equilibrium within the vegetal, animal and rational faculties of the human soul; (2) social justice as harmonious cooperation, giving precedence to the interests of the community over those of individuals in society; and (3) divine justice as the harmonious association of all natural entities in an existential system of causal relationships. This lies at the heart of Ṣadrā's fundamental ontological struggle to reconcile the phenomenological experience of multiplicity, of the many individuals and affairs in personal and social life, with the notion of unity, of the One Being, leading the wayfarer to higher states of spirituality. This also implies the ontological confluence of justice and Truth (*al-ḥaqq*) and supports the idea of the 'correspondence' of the three realms comprised of the human psyche, society and nature. This is a shift of perspective that regards the concept of 'justice' as 'ontic' and 'extra-mental' and that expands the notion of justice beyond the realm of ethics and politics into the universal and comprehensive schema of his ontology and metaphysics. In order to understand this new concept of justice through which one can grasp Ṣadrā's original theory of the ontic relationship between man's spiritual perfection and his personal and social life, we have utilised his three psychological and metaphysical principles of the 'goodness of unity' (*al-waḥdat khayrun*), 'unity in multiplicity' (*al-waḥda fī al-kathra*) as the state of perfection for beings, and the 'correspondence' (*taṭbīq*) of the three realms of the human soul, society and the cosmos.

In Chapter 6, distinguishing features of Ṣadrā's narrative on the 'virtuous city' are examined. There is enough evidence that he has implemented the concept of the virtuous city into the Shi'i notion of the Promised Society (*Ummat al-Maw'ūda*) during the reappearance of Imam Mahdi, the Shi'i Twelfth Imam, at the 'End of the World' (*Ākhira al-Zamān*). We also show that, according to Ṣadrā, the virtuous city is neither imaginary, as many Muslim and Western thinkers believe, nor does it refer exclusively to the time of the reappearance of the Imam. Taking a broader picture, we explain how Ṣadrā's political outlook on the virtuous city reflects a

station on the spiritual path toward the Great Arising (*Qiyāmat al-Kubrā*) in the next world, where one may achieve a state of unity with the Truth. Therefore, it is not an absolutely perfect environment as was thought but rather is merely an intermediate stage in which the person (or citizen) should instinctively and ceaselessly strive for a better spiritual life in the final abode of the soul. Within the framework of the ontic relationship between spiritual and political life, as expressed in the previous chapter, the two notions Ṣadrā has of 'the Minor Resurrection' (*al-Qiyāmat al-Ṣughrā*) in contradistinction to the 'Great Arising' or 'Great Resurrection' (*al-Qiyāmat al-Kubrā*) are introduced, where he compares the virtuous city with the perfect society of the Twelfth Imam.

Chapter 7 begins with an analysis of Ṣadrā's arguments against the political authority of the jurist that tackles controversial contemporary questions of political Shi'ism. It is essential for a more holistic understanding of his arguments on political authority to be aware of the doxographical and mystical literature of philosophers like Fārābī (d. 338/951), Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 638/1240) and Suhrawardī (d. 587/1191) that displays a strong influence from the Pythagorean and Neoplatonic thought that was mediated through translations of original works that also resonated with Iamblichus. Mullā Ṣadrā's discourse on the authority of the first leader drew upon these three thinkers, but it is philosophically sophisticated with immense mystical arguments that far exceed those of his predecessors. It is shown why he could not accept the political authority of the lawful Farabian king (*malik al-sunna*) or of Persian kings like Afrīdun and Kay-Khusraw, who purified themselves and received Divine Wisdom and Glory as Suhrawardī claimed, or the notion of the Sunni saint, or perfect man, of Ibn al-'Arabi. This chapter also offers a detailed analysis of Ṣadrā's approach to an important political view prevalent in his time and associated with the presence of the most eminent 'ulamā in the Safavid court. In this regard, he strongly criticises the Safavid kings and openly disapproves of the scholars allied with them. He calls such a one an ignorant *'ālim* who wastes his life serving people of wealth and who fritters away his time in obedience (*ubūdīya*) to rulers (*ḥukkām*) and kings (*salāṭīn*). We then explore the meaning of 'kingdom' (*salṭana*) and related concepts in his philosophy such as 'great kingship' (*salṭanat al-'uzmā*) and 'lesser kingship' (*salṭana al-ṣughrā*), and finally the 'true owner of command' (*aṣḥāb al-rīyāsa*) regarding earthly authority over the people, where there is a discussion of Ṣadrā's discourse on the first leader's political authority, as expressed within the comprehensive philosophical arguments already examined in earlier chapters.

The present volume is primarily an analytical study of Ṣādrā's books and treatises with a focus on the nine volumes of his magnum opus, *al-Ḥikmat al-Muta'ālīya fi al-Asfār al-'Aqliyya al-Arba'a*, known as *Asfār*, which we frequently refer to in this study by the book title rather than by the name of the author.[47] All the references to *Asfār* are from the standard Qum/Beirut publication with annotations by Hājj Mullā Hādī Sazavari and M. Husayn Ṭabāṭabā'ī, which has been reprinted from the 1950s up until the present day and is found in most libraries.

I follow the standard IJMES transliteration system with the following exceptions: 'z' with no dot below is used for 'ظ' in both Arabic and Persian; the connection

between two Persian words in adjectival phrases, or *idāfa*, is shown by '-i' and '-yi' for words that end in vowels; and for 'و' in Persian, I use 'v' rather than 'w'.

Arabic words that end in 'ه' and 'ة' are transliterated as ending in 'a' rather than 'ah', but I indicate the character *tā marbūṭa* in the construct state, so the 'Greater Occultation' would be *al-Ghaybat al-Kubrā* rather than *al-Ghayba al-Kubrā*. I drop the definite article 'al-' from names following the Persian convention unless the name appears with 'al' in the cited works. The definite article is always rendered 'al-', irrespective of any consonant that may follow it. To be consistent with English book titles, Arabic and Persian titles have corresponding capitals, so 'الحكمة العرشيه' would be *al-Ḥikmat al-Arshiyya* rather than *al-Ḥikmat al-arshiyya*.

Words in common usage such as Imam, Shari'a, Shi'a, Sufi and famous cities are not transliterated. Solar dates and dates before Christ are differentiated from lunar and Gregorian dates with the addition of 'Sh', 'BCE' and 'CE', respectively. Finally, I use Shi'i and Sunni and not Shi'ite and Sunnite.

I would like to mention here several wonderful people with love and gratitude.

The present volume is the result of an exploration of Mullā Ṣadrā's extremely recondite philosophical arguments and reinterpreting his philosophy. In this I am indebted to my late professor, Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Āshtīyānī. Attending his prolific classes for more than ten years was a great opportunity for me to come to terms with the subtleties of transcendent philosophy and Islamic mysticism.

Many years ago, when I began my PhD under the supervision of Professor James W. Morris, he planted the seed of my fascination with the practical aspects of transcendent philosophy. This book is a product of his inspiration, and I feel honoured to have his invaluable foreword included in it. I cannot thank Professor Oliver Leaman enough for his extremely useful comments and kind support, without which this book would never have come to fruition. I am immensely grateful to Professor Andrew Newman for his guidance and his important and incisive reflections throughout various stages of this work and to Dr Sajjād Rizvi for his excellent observations. I would like to express thanks to Dr Rebecca Masterton, who read the manuscript with great care and precision, and to Mr Trevor Banyard for his valuable editorial assistance and for helping me give final shape to the book. I would like to acknowledge the professionalism and assistance of Mr Joe Whiting, the editor of Middle East Studies, and Miss Titanilla Panczel, editorial assistant at Routledge, who made the process of publishing easy and pleasurable. Without the boundless love and generosity of my beloved wife Farzāneh, this book would never have been written.

I dedicate this work to the memory of my beloved father and mother. May it be a worthy memorial!

Notes

1 Seyyid Hossein Nasr and Henry Corbin, who were the first to write about Mullā Ṣadrā in European languages, translated '*al-ḥikmat al-muta'āliyya*' as transcendent theosophy. Nasr believes the doctrines of Ṣadrā are theosophy rather than philosophy because

they are not derived from discursive thought alone but are ultimately the fruit of the divine order. See H. Nasr (1997a: 57); Henry Corbin (1993: tr. P. Sherrard); H. Nasr and O. Leaman, eds. (1996a: II, 1139–1174); Hossein Ziai (1996a: II, 1125–1138).

2 Thanks to this scholarship, today we have a good picture of Ṣadrā's life and times. Therefore, a short account of his life is provided in Chapter 1, mostly in the context of the cultural and political ambience of his era. For information on his life, see H. Nasr (1997a); John Cooper (1998: *REPh*, VI, 595–599); I. Kalin (2003b: *IS*, vol. 42, no. 1: 21–62); S. Rizvi (2007, 2005: *EIr*, online edition); N. Bāqirī Khurramdashtī, with F. Aṣgharī (1378 Sh/1999).

3 Mullā Ṣadrā (1377 Sh: 4).

4 *Asfār* (IX: 121).

5 Ṣadrā (1378 Sh: 55–58).

6 Mullā Ṣadrā (n.d.c.: 13).

7 Mullā Ṣadrā (1381 Sh: 45).

8 On Khomeini and the political tradition of Ṣadrā, see L. Ridgeon (2014: 193–210); D. Brumberg (2001); V. Martin (2000). See also 'Imād Afrūq (2007/1386 Sh: *PḤ*, no. 217, 4–18); Ṣādiq Ḥaqīqat (2014/1393 Sh: *MN*, no. 36).

9 Mullā Hādī Sabzavārī (d. 1873), the most influential commentator of Ṣadrā's thought, Āqā 'Ali Muddaris (d. 1818) and Āqā 'Alī Zunūzī (d. 1889), and modern contemporary Persian scholars like Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Ṭabāṭabā'ī (d. 1981), Sayyed Jalāl al-Din Ashtīyānī (1925–2005), Hasan Ḥasanzādeh Āmulī (b. 1928) and Abdullah Javādī Āmulī (b. 1933), characterise Mullā Ṣadrā within this category and introduce him as a Shi'a mystic-philosopher with a very strong sympathy for and loyalty to Ibn al-'Arabi, Qūnawī and Qushayrī. Nevertheless, my late professor Jalāl al-Din Ashtīyānī, who is perhaps the most prominent individual to contribute to the revision, editing and interpretation of Mullā Ṣadrā's major works, in conversation with me did not express any objection to a possible link between Ṣadrā's mystical approach and a practical philosophy, although he always warned me not to lapse into an unsatisfactory interpretation of Ṣadrā's transcendent philosophy of his own. For an excellent study and collection of treatises and glosses of the last few centuries in Persian by Ṣadrā's commentators, see S.J. Āshtīyānī (1363 Sh: 4 vols.); also Nasr (2006); Dabashi (1993: 273–323); for later scholars of transcendent philosophy in Persian, see Ḥā'irī Māzandarānī (1956: 4 vols.).

10 Before Nasr and Corbin, a preliminary study of Mullā Ṣadrā by European scholars began in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by French scholar Comte de Gobineau (d. 1882) and German orientalist Max Horten (d. 1945), both of whom are handicapped by basic miscomprehensions of Ṣadrā's intricate philosophical discourses. Gobineau had an interest in Persia and wrote a travelogue entitled *Trois ans en Asie* (1859) and an unscholarly *Histoire des Perses* (1969). These works were followed by an amateurish book on philosophy entitled *Les religions et philosophie en Asie centrale* (1865), in which one finds his assessment of Mullā Ṣadrā. For more on Gobineau, see J. Calmard (*EIr*. XI: 20–24). Horten published a preliminary selection of translations from *Asfār*, as well as a study of the philosophy of Suhrawardī (d. 1191) in 1912. The following year saw the appearance of his main assessment of Mullā Ṣadrā, *Das philosophische System von Schirazi* (1913). Horten was the first academic to draw attention to the significance of the philosophy of Mullā Ṣadrā and to praise its vitality and diligence. For a brief review of Horten's other works on Islamic philosophy, see S. Rizvi (2009a: 4–6).

11 This does not seem an accurate designation for Ṣadrā because 'theosophy' may be sometimes associated with 'irrationalism'.

12 See H. Nasr (1997a).

13 H. Nasr (2005: *JTPh*, VI).

14 Mullā Ṣadrā, tr. S.H. Nasr, ed. Ibrahim Kalin (2014).

15 He translates '*al-ḥikmat al-ilāhiyyah*' as '*theosophia*'. See Henry Corbin (1971: vol. I, 24).
16 Henry Corbin (197: vol. IV, 158).
17 See H. Corbin (1981)
18 H. Corbin, *History of Islamic Philosophy*, tr. Liadain Sherrard (1993: 23, 108, 158–166).
19 See H. Corbin (1972: vol. IV, 52–122).
20 See Toshihiko Izutsu and Mahdi Mohaghegh (1983); T. Izutsu (1970).
21 T. Izutsu (1994).
22 T. Izutsu (2002).
23 T. Izutsu (1979: *Er*, XLVIII, 434–435).
24 Mullā Ṣadrā, *al-Ḥikmat al-'Arshiyya* (*The Wisdom of the Throne*), tr. and annot. James Winston Morris (1981); Zailan Moris's 1994 doctoral dissertation (published in 2003 under *Revelation, Intellectual Intuition and Reason in the Philosophy of Mulla Sadra: An Analysis of the al-Hikma al-'Arshiyyah*) undertook research on the reconciliation of reason (*'aql*), revelation (*waḥy*) and mystical insight (*kashf*). Her work is, on the whole, derivative, relying upon Morris's translation, and repetitive. Her discourse is in many ways also a culmination of Nasr's statement on this 'reconciliation' in his pioneering article of the 1960s; Sharif (1966: II, 938–939).
25 Morris (1981: 42–44); for possibly drawing a new political philosophy from transcendent philosophy, I was inspired by Professor James Morris as my supervisor (2000–2005), when I first embarked on my doctoral research at the University of Exeter.
26 Jambet's *The Act of Being* was originally published in French as *L'acte d'être: la philosophie de la révélation chez Mollâ Sadrâ* (2002).
27 Jambet (2006: 420–423).
28 There are also two studies on Ṣadrā's thought with a historical approach that introduce him as an apolitical philosopher-mystic: (1) Mangol Bayat, in *Mysticism and Dissent: Socioreligious Thought in Qajar Iran* (1982), claims that Ṣadrā was not involved in any theoretical and practical politics. For Bayat, Mullā Ṣadrā was one of the Shi'a philosophers whose concerns were only metaphysics and mysticism, as well as the attempt to transcend to the true religion, through an inner interpretation of the Qur'an and hadith that would keep spirituality alive against the influence of the literalist and legalistic 'ulamā; and (2) Kathryn Babayan in her PhD thesis, *The Waning of the Qizilbash: The Spiritual and the Temporal in Seventeenth Century Iran* (1987–93: 138), describes Mullā Ṣadrā as 'the philosophising Sufi', a 'mystically-inclined *'ālim*', and an *'ārif*, who chose to stay aloof from political involvement in his intellectual mission. In the historical context of the rise of the Safavid dynasty and the *ghulāt* movement, Babayan describes Ṣadrā's thought as a 'vagueness' (1987–1993: 243), which indicates that she is unable to appreciate the intricate nature of Ṣadrā's work.
29 See Tamara Sonn (1991: *MW*, LXXXI, no. 3–4, 212–230).
30 See F. Rahman (1975). On Rahmān's legacy, see Earle H. Waugh and Frederick M. Denny, eds. (1998).
31 *On the Hermeneutics of the Light Verse of the Qur'an*, tr. Parvin Peerwani (2004).
32 Mullā Ṣadrā (2008), *Spiritual Psychology: The Fourth Intellectual Journey in Transcendent Philosophy*.
33 M. Dakake (2004: *MW*, 94(1): 107–130).
34 For more from Dakake, see her 'The Origin of Man in Pre-Eternity and His Origination in Time: Mullā Ṣadrā and Imāmī Shī'ite Tradition' (1999: *EsExH*, 147–166).
35 S. Rizvi (2013).
36 S. Rizvi (2009a).
37 S. Rizvi (2012: *BSOAS,* vol. 75, no. 1, 33–45).
38 Ibrahim Kalin, *Knowledge in Later Islamic Philosophy: Mullā Sadrā on Existence, Intellect, and Intuition* (2010).
39 See, for example, Ibrahim Kalin (2000: *JTPh* I, no. 1, 74–91).

40 Ṣadrā (1377 Sh: 38–39); Mullā Ṣadrā (2008: 36). For example, see also Ṣadrā (1377 Sh: 57, 69, 70, 76); Mullā Ṣadrā (2008: 26–27).

41 For example, Mohammed Rustom's volume, *The Triumph of Mercy: Philosophy and Scripture in Mullā Ṣadrā* (2012), intertwines quotes from Ṣadrā's various works to demonstrate his central thesis on the method of Ṣadrā's interpretation of the Qurʾan and some controversial Qur'anic issues such as the eternity of hell, the relationship between man and God in terms of the scriptural teachings of the Origin, the path of Return, the final Return to God, and the concept of 'soteriology' as an issue interconnected with God's mercy. There is also Rustom's 'Psychology, Eschatology, and Imagination in Mullā Ṣadrā Shīrāzī's Commentary on the Ḥadīth of Awakening' (2007: *IS*, 5 [1], 9–22); similarly, Karim Crow (2005), in his 'Mullā Ṣadrā on the First Intellect in his *Sharḥ Uṣūl al-Kāfī*,' in *Eschatology, Exegesis, Hadith*, deals with Ṣadrā's interpretations of hadiths (1999: *EsExH,* 571–590); for other aspects of Ṣadrā's philosophy, see Megawati Moris, *Mullā Ṣadrā's Doctrine of the Primacy of Existence* (2003); Janis Esots, 'Mullā Ṣadrā's Teaching on Wujūd: A Synthesis of Philosophy and Mysticism' (2007: PhD diss.); Eiyad Al-Kutubi, *Mulla Sadra and Eschatology: Evolution of Being* (2014).

42 As representative examples of this category, I would only mention the following works: A. Açikgenç, *Being and Existence in Ṣadrā and Heidegger: A Comparative Ontology* (1993); M. Kamal, *Mullā Ṣadrā's Transcendent Philosophy* (2006) and *From Essence to Being* (2009); D. Burrell, 'Aquinas and Mullā Ṣadrā on the Primacy of Existence'; and M. Kamal, 'Parmenides and Mullā Ṣadrā: The Mystical Journey,' in Alī Pāyā ed., *The Misty Land of Ideas and the Light of Dialogue* (2013, 31–48, 105–126); C. Wilson, 'Knowledge and Immortality in Spinoza and Mullā Ṣadrā' (2002: *WCM*, vol. 4, 602–608); Muḥammad Bīdhandī, 'Barrasī-yitaṭ bīqī-yitaʾ wīl-i Mullā Ṣadrā wa-hirminūtīk-i Haydigar' (1387/2008: *KhNS*, no.53, 61–72). For more articles in this category, see volumes of the *Journal of Transcendent Philosophy* (2000–2016); for articles on comparative studies in Persian, see the 'Collection of the Papers Presented at the First World Congress on Mullā Ṣadrā (1999: 4 vols.); see also the website of the Mullā Ṣadrā Congress, URL (www.mullasadra.org/papers/) and the *Journal of Kheradnameh Sadra*. On possible ways to carry out comparative studies of the political philosophy of Mullā Ṣadrā, see S.K. Toussi, 'Falsafe Siyāsi Mullā Ṣadrā va Martin Heidegger' (1387 Sh./2008: *JPS*, in Persian, no. 43, 16–43); Mohammad Rafi', 'Reworking the Philosophy of Martin Heidegger: Iran's Revolution of 1979 and Its Quest for Cultural Authenticity' (2013: *SATC*, 15–17); Ali Mirsepassi, *Political Islam, Iran, and the Enlightenment: Philosophies of Hope and Despair* (2011).

43 *Andīshe-yi Sīyāsī Ṣadr al-Muta'lihīn* (*Political Thought of Ṣadrā al-Muta'alihīn*).

44 Lakzā'ī (1381 Sh: 138–140).

45 *Falsaf-i Sīyāsī-i Ṣadr al-Muta'ahilīn* (*Political Philosophy of Ṣadr al-Muta'alihīn*).

46 *Muqadame-e bar Ḥikmat Siyāsī-yi Muta'āliyya* (An Introduction to the Politics of Transcendent Philosophy).

47 Ṣadrā began compiling this philosophical and theological summa during his stay in Kahak, where he found the opportunity to meditate upon his inquiries and initiate the composition of his main works. It was commenced in 1015/1606 and completed in Shiraz on Friday, 7 Jumāda I, 1037/14 (January 1628). We know the year of his birth since he mentions that he was fifty-eight years old at the time.

References

1 Mehrzad Boroujerdi (1996: 163–170).
2 John Cooper (1998: VI: 595). For a brief and very scholarly study on Ṣadrā's thought, see S.J. Ashtīyānī (1365 Sh). For a comprehensive English study of Ṣadrā's life and work and literature on Ṣadrā by Western thinkers, see S. Rizvi (2007); I. Kalin (2015: *BEIPh*, ed. O. Leaman, 349–356). For a modern Persian bibliography of Ṣadrā, see M. Khāmini'ī (1378 Sh).
3 H. Nasr (1997a, 31–39); S.J. Ashtīyānī (1365 Sh: 3–8); Henry Corbin (1993, 10–11); Dabashi (2011: 15408).
4 Mullā Ṣadrā uses the term '*ahl al-hadith*' for those who were mainly known in later decades as Akhbārīs.
5 *Asfār* (I: 1–12); M. Khāmini'ī (1378 Sh: 161, 278); S. Rizvi (2007, 42–45). See also S.K. Toussi (2008: introduction to Mullā Ṣadrā's *Breaking the Idols of Ignorance*).
6 See the introduction to *Asfār* I.
7 Mīr Dāmād is best known for his *al-Qabasāt Ḥaqq al-Yaqīn fī Hudūth al-'Ālam*, known as *Qabasāt*, which is an attempt to recast some of the central problems of traditional philosophy from the Peripatetic's viewpoint, with certain influences from the School of Illumination. Even though both classical and modern authors acknowledge the difficult language and structure of Mir Dāmād's works, his destiny to remain a background figure in the annals of Islamic philosophy is without doubt related to his being overshadowed by his most celebrated student. For more on Mīr Dāmād, his intellectual and political careers, see S. Mūsawī Bihbahānī (1370 Sh/1991). See also Hamid Dabashi (1996, 597–634); Muhammad Bāqir Khansārī (1991: II, 61–67).
8 See S. Jalāl Āshtiyānī (1363 Sh: I, 62–65); S.H. Nasr (1997a: 26).
9 With Mīr Dāmād, Mullā Ṣadrā studied philosophy and theology, in particular the Peripatetic works of Avicenna and his student Bahmanyār (d. 458/1066), the pseudo-Aristotelian *Plotiniana Arabica* (in particular the so-called Theology of Aristotle or *Uthūlūjīyā*), the Illuminationist works of Suhrawardī (d. 549/1191), and the commentaries on philosophical theology in the *Tajrīd al-I'tiqād* of Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274). We know that Ṣadrā was associated with Mīr Dāmād at least from 1004/1595. He was particularly attached to his teacher, who may have acted as a spiritual guide and mentor. In letters that Ṣadrā wrote to Mir Dāmād, he described him as 'the sayyid and leader, the lord of the philosophers and master of the jurists, teacher of teachers and of scholars, the most noble of scholars and the civiliser of Islamdom' and as 'the gate who opens the spiritual path to God and from whose presence divine grace is acquired; a gate who does not disappoint its seeker and does not betray its confidant'. For Ṣadrā's letters to Mīr Dāmād, see S.J. Ashtīyānī (1365 Sh: 3–8). For Ṣadrā's scholarly relations with Mīr Dāmād, see O. Leaman (2015: *BEIPh*, 321–322). M. Khāmene'ī (1379 Sh: I, 109, 115). See also S. Rizvi (2007: 12).
10 Shaykh Bahā'ī was no ordinary scholar of the religious sciences but was at once a philosopher, theologian, jurist, mathematician, architect, Sufi and poet. This must have had some effect on Ṣadrā's intellectual upbringing, as he wrote works in nearly all branches of the intellectual and transmitted sciences. See I. Kalin (2015: *BEIPh*, ed. O. Leaman, 18–19); M.B. Khansārī (1991: VI, 54–81); A. Newman (2006: 58–71, 1986: 185–190); N. Rofagha (2006); Etan Kohlberg (1988: *EIr*, III, 429–430); Devin Stewart (1998: *JAOS*, vol. 31, 177–205); Ḥ. al-Amīn (1986: IX, 234–249).
11 For more on Ṣadrā's teachers, see S. Rizvi (2007: 8–13).
12 M. Khāmene'ī (1379 Sh: I, 301–305).
13 For the history of philosophical and intellectual development in Isfahan from Ibn Sīnā to Ṣadrā and the reasons Ṣadrā moved to Shiraz, see M. Imam-Jum'ah (1391 Sh).
14 *Asfār* (I, 5).
15 See S.H. Nasr (1377 Sh: introduction to his edition of Mullā Ṣadrā's *Seh Aṣl*, 5–14).

16 See S.J. Āshtiyānī (1365 Sh: 5–6). For Ṣadrā's philosophical methodology, see Muhammad Kamal (2006). For Ṣadrā's methodology on interpretation of the Qur'an, see Mohammed Rustom (2012). For Ṣadrā's methodology of knowledge and epistemology, see Oliver Leaman (2000: I, no. 1, 34).

17 Fayḍ travelled to Isfahan in 1027/1616, where he studied hadith and jurisprudence with Shaykh Bahā'ī. He was offered the post of Shaykh al-Islam of Isfahan in 1065/1655 during the reign of Shah 'Abbās II (d. 1077/1666) but declined, concentrating instead on his teaching and scholarly works. Fayḍ was the author of 200 books and treatises, and in the last year of his life he wrote an important summary of Ṣadrā's philosophical thought entitled *Usūl al-Ma'ārif*. See William Chittick (2004: 475–476); M.B. Khansārī (1991: VI, 73–97).

18 A favourite of Shah 'Abbās II (1642–1666), for whom he wrote an important manifesto on the Sufi life called *Gawhar-i Murād* in Persian. His major work, *Shawāriq al-Ilhām fī Sharh Tajrīd al-Kalām*, which is another valuable and extensive Avicennan commentary on the theological text of Naṣir al-Din Tūṣī, took a number of philosophical positions that were highly critical of the views of his teacher, regarding metaphysics in particular. See W. Madelung (1979: 154–157); M.B. Khansārī (1991: IV, 192–194). For the lives of Fayḍ Kashani and Lāhījī and their spiritual relationship with Mullā Ṣadrā, see M. Khāmene'ī (1379: 352–385); A. Newman (2001).

19 Among these we may mention Aqa Muhammad Bidābādī (d. 1198/1783), Qāḍī Sa'īd Qumī (d. 1111/1696), Mullā 'Ali Ibn Jamshīd Nūrī (d. 1245/1830), Mullā Muhammad Ismā'īl Isfahani (d. 1275/1860), Mullā 'Abdullah Zunūzī (d. 1256/1841), Mullā Hādī Sabzavārī (d. 1288/1873), Mullā 'Ali Mudarris Zunūzī (d. 1280/1889), Āqā Muhammad Riḍā Qumsha'ī (d. 1303/1888–1889), Mirzā Mahdī Āshtiyānī (d. 1356/1941), and most recently Muhammad Husayn Tabātabāe'ī (d. 1402/1981) and Seyyed Jalāal al-Din Āshtiyānī (d. 1419/2004). For more details about Ṣadrā's students and their works, see S.J. Āshtiyānī (1363 Sh: I–II); S. Rizvi (2007: 1–20, 51); H. Nasr (2006).

20 Thomas Herbert (1634: 129); op. cit. S. Rizvi (2009b: *SEPh*); S. Rizvi (2007: 30).

21 The traditional date given for his death is 1050 /1640–1. However, his grandson Muhammad 'Alam al-Hudā, the son of Fayḍ Kashani, reported that his grandfather died in Basra in 1045/1635–1636 and was buried in Najaf in the precinct of the shrine of 'Ali, the first Shi'i Imam. This seems to be supported by the fact that the date of completion for his last works, the commentary on *Uṣūl al-Kāfī* is 1044/1635. Muhammad 'Alam al-Hudā (d. 1407/1987–1989: I, 9). Cf. M. Khāmene'ī (2000: I, 414).

22 For a complete list of Ṣadrā's books and treatises, see S. Rizvi (2007: 51–115); I. Kalin (2003b: *IS*, vol. 42, no. 1, 21–62); S.K. Toussi (2008: xxii–xxxvi).

23 Ismā'īl's long-term residence in Zaydī Shi'i Lāhījān was an opportunity for him to become familiar with Shi'i concepts like 'the perfect and just Imam' (*al-imam al-'ādil al-kāmil*) and 'the just sultan' (*al-sulṭān al-'ādil*). Contemporary 'popular' tales identified Ismā'īl as Abu Muslim, the leader of the Khurasan-based Arab armies that defeated the Umayyads in 765 to establish the Abbasid state and who was believed to have gone into hiding and then returning to establish justice across the world. Ismā'īl was also simultaneously one of the chief figures of the Tājīk Persian cultural legacy, with Faraydūn, Khusraw, Jamshīd, Rustam and Alexander, as well as some key figures in the historical tradition of Christianity, and the *pīr* of the region's numerous messianic, egalitarian Sufi movements such as the *ghazī*, *akhī* and that of Abu Muslim. For more on Ismā'īl's religious and cultural background, see A. Newman (2006: 13–15); Rasūl Ja'farīyān (1389: I, 109).

24 For a comprehensive study of the cultural and religious situation in the Safavid era, see R. Ja'farīyān (1389: 3 vols.); for Safavid kings, especially Shah Isma'īl and different aspects of his kingdom, see Yadullah Shukrī, ed., *'Ālam Ārā' Safavi* (1350 Sh).

25 See Zabihullah Ṣafā (1362 Sh: V, 241–250); A. Newman (1993a: *DWI*, vol. 33, no. 1, 66–112).
26 For different views on the reason why the Safavid capital was moved from Qazvin to Isfahan, see Stephen Blake (2003); see also Iskandar Beg Munshī (1977: I, 544).
27 See Kathryn Babayan (2002: 59, 354–356); as a standard reference for the early Safavid period in the original language, see the work of a Qizilbāsh notable, Hasan Beg Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-Tawārīkh*, completed in 985/1577.
28 A. Newman (2006: 31). For a study of the first sixteen-year period of the reign of Shah Ṭahmāsp, see Martin Dickson (1958).
29 Rasūl Ja'farīyān (1991: 226–227, 1389 Sh: I, 400).
30 A. Newman (2006: 18). For a history of the Qizilbāsh during the Safavid dynasty, see Hans R. Roemer (1994: 27–39).
31 R. Ja'farīyān (1389 Sh: I, 394).
32 Muḥaqiq Ali al-Karakī was without doubt the most influential jurist in the Safavid court. His association with Safavid Shi'ism began almost immediately upon Ismā'īl's profession of faith in 907/1501. During his presence at court, he was in charge of all the political, economic and religious affairs of the Safavid government. In his high position of authority in the administration, he had to issue a large number of *fatwā*s on various cases. Karakī did not hesitate to openly utilise his religious and legal knowledge and skills to support specific aspects of Safavid Shi'ism, including its more extreme manifestations. See also Āqā Bozorg Tehrani (1936–1978: XIII, 353); Ali Akhzarī (2013: *IJRB*, vol. 4, no 11, 216–223).
33 Colin P. Mitchell (2009: 124); 'Shah Tahmasp' (*BSOAS*, 65–85).
34 In *Asfār*, after describing Mīr Dāmād as his spiritual guide (*murshid*) and teacher, Ṣadrā prays that God may preserve this connection of master and disciple, though they were separated, and through his honour and illumination enlighten the heart of the seeker on the path (V: 53).
35 For more on Dashtakī, see A. Newman (1996: *EIr*, VII, 100–2); M.A. Afandī (1401: V, 250–252); M.B. Khansārī (1991: IV, 372–373); Iskandar Beg Munshī (1977: I, 144–145).
36 Mīr Dāmād had functioned as the Shaykh al-Islām of Sabzavār under Shah Ṭahmāsp and had been a student of the Shiraz philosopher, Mīr Ghiyāth al-Din Manṣūr Dashtakī. For the status of the 'ulamā in the Safavid court, see R. Ja'farīyān (1389 Sh: I, 168).
37 Khansārī (1991: V, 170).
38 For more on Ali al-Karakī and his descendants, see Rasūl Ja'farīyān (d. 1384/2005: 79–152); C. Mitchell (2009: 70). For more on the migration of Shi'ite scholars during the Safavid era, see R. Ja'farīyān (2003); Mahdī Farhānī Munfared (1377 Sh: 120–130); Rula Jurdi Abisaab (1994: *IrS*, vol. 27, no. 1–4, 103–122).
39 For more information on the family conflicts after Ṭahmāsp, see A. Newman (2006: 26–28).
40 In 1556, nearly two decades after Ismā'īl's birth, one of Ṭahmāsp's Georgian wives bore him a son, Ḥaydar. The Turkmen Ustājlū tribe, one of the most powerful tribes of the Qizilbāsh, threw its support behind Haydar, but the majority of the Qizilbāsh chiefs saw this as a threat to their own Turkmen-dominated power. Hence they installed Ismā'īl II on the throne (1576–1577), followed by Muhammad Shāh Khudābanda (d. 995/1587). See Colin P. Mitchell (2009: 158–176); A. Newman (2006: 41); Roger Savory (2009).
41 Rudi Matthee (2010: *JESHO*, vol. 53, no. 1–2, 233–265).
42 Shohreh Gholsorkhī (1994: *IJMES*, no. 26, 480–485). For more on the situation of the Shi'ism and Shi'a-Sunni conflict during the Safavid period, see H. Nasr (1986: VI, 658–697); B.S. Amoretti (1986: VI, 610–655).
43 There is no record of the date of his death.
44 Mīrzā Muhammd Ṭāhir Qazvīnī (2003: 206).

45 D. Stewart (1998: *JAOS,* vol. 31, 200).
46 Sh. Gholsorkhī (1994: *IJMES*, no. 26, 477–488).
47 B.S. Amoretti (1986: VI, 643).
48 See Peter Jackson (2005: 172).
49 C. Mitchell (2009: 159).
50 A. Newman (2006: 47).
51 Terry Graham (1999: 179).
52 A. Newman (2006: 47); C. Mitchell (2009: 178–179).
53 These sayyids hailed from Mazandaran (in the north and east of Iran) and had a significant impact during Shah Ṭahmāsp's reign. They played an integral part in preaching and popularising Karakī's interpretation of Shi'ism and in dispersing it throughout the Safavid dominions. See Rasūl Ja'farīyān (n.d.: 13); Rudi Matthee (1999: 75).
54 These were those of the administrative class who were responsible for the smooth maintenance of the state bureaucracy and its overall polity. It was these 'people of the pen', or scholar-bureaucrats, who created, preserved, copied and transmitted the most popular and compelling literary, scientific, philosophical and religious discourses of the medieval period. See Khurshāh Ibn Qubād (2000: 54); C. Mitchell (2009: 12–16).
55 See Stanfield, Johnson (2004: *IrS,* vol. 37, no. 1, 66).
56 Rula Abisaab (2004: 58–59).
57 Majid Fakhry (1970: 339–340).
58 See A. Newman (1986: *SIr*, vol. 15, no. 2, 179).
59 Ali Awjabī (1382 Sh: 203).
60 See A. Newman (2006: 204, note 19); cf. S. Abrahams (1999: 96, 111).
61 Sussān Bābāie (2004: 104).
62 A. Newman (2006: 74).
63 The Safavid bloodline, both male and female, was believed to have a divinely bestowed charisma, and it was not only Ṣafī who killed or blinded his close family. In the seventeenth century, many princesses were blinded along with their brothers for fear that they may lay claim to the throne. See K. Babayan (1998: 352). For the brutal attitude of other Safavid kings who were suspicious of family members, see H.R. Romer (1989: VI, 190–350).
64 K. Babayan (2002: 366). For details of Ṣafī's cruelty, see N. Falsafī (1342 Sh: 211–22).
65 H.R. Romer (1989: VI, 279–280).
66 See the *Encyclopædia Iranica Online Edition* (Emāmqolī Khan).
67 A. Newman (2006: 65); R. Hillenbrand (1989: VI, 795).
68 Shāmlu Walīqulī (1371 Sh: II, 208–209); K. Babayan (2002: 376).
69 For more on Mīr Dāmād's social and political activities, see M. Ma'ṣūm Isfahani (1368 Sh/1989: 82, 96); S. Babaie, K. Babayan, I. Baghdiantz-McCabe and M. Farhad (2004: 47, 163).
70 S. Rizvi (2007: 43).
71 Fayḍ Kashani (1387 Sh: 36–44; 1371 Sh: 281); A. Newman (2006: 89, 204). For useful information on the role of philosophers and Sufis at the court of Shah 'Abbās II, at a time when their role was increasingly under attack from the orthodox 'ulamā, see Muhammad Ṭāhir Waḥīd Qazwīnī, *Abbās-Nāmeh* (1951: ed. I. Dihqān).
72 Written by Muhammad Ma'ṣūm Isfahani (1368 Sh/1989) and edited by Iraj Afshār.
73 In 1044/1634–1635, a fellow townsman and prominent judge, Sayyid Ali-Naqī Kamari'ī (d. 1060/1650), wrote a work entitled *Himam al-Thawāqib* for the Shah in which he criticised the commission of Sufi works, such as the *Iḥyā' al-'Ulūm* of M. Ghazzālī. It did not, however, include any critique of Mullā Ṣadrā himself but in fact reported that it was Ṣadrā himself who informed him of the commission and his reluctance to deliver it. See S. Rizvi (2007: 35–36). Cf. R. Ja'farīyān (1379 Sh: 13–41); al-Ḥurr al-'Āmilī (1966: II, 207).

74 Some of these Shi‘a jurists came from Ḥilla in Lebanon under the leadership of Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1325) and his son Muhammad, known as Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn (d. 771/1370). Another group who migrated from Lebanon was from Jabal al-‘Āmil, amongst whom were scholars such as Shaykh ‘Āmilī, who established religious schools and trained many Persian Shi‘a scholars, and his family. Muḥaqqiq Ali Karakī, Shams al-Din Muhammad Ibn Makkī (d. 786/1384), known as Shahīd al-Awwal, and Zayn al-Din Ibn Ali al-‘Āmilī (d. 960/1558), known as Shahīd al-Thānī, from Jabal al-‘Āmil, became spectacularly famous jurists in Iran and left a lasting influence in Shi‘ism that has persisted to the present day. This migration was not necessarily with the intention of joining the Safavid court but rather was due to the political tension and threat of the Sunni state in their homeland. Mirzā ‘Abdullah Afandī (1401: I, 186; II, 64, 101, 103, 109, 122; IV, 18, 319); Rasūl Ja’fariyān (1376 Sh: II, 669–676); Rula J Abisaab (1994: *IrS*, vol. 27, no. 27, 103–122); D. Stewart (1998: *JAOS*, vol. 31).
75 Muhammad Bāqir Majlisī, known as Majlisī II, was a leading theologian and *muḥaddith* of the later seventeenth century. He was another jurist allied with the Safavids and went so far as to compare Shah Ismā‘īl’s achievement in establishing Shi‘a Islam as the state religion with the expected twelfth Imam’s political function of fighting for the true religion. For an impressive study on the intellectual and political career of B. Majlisī, see A. Newman (2003: 371–396); Newman (2012: 109–127); Devin Stewart (1998, vol. 31: 193–203).
76 See ‘Izz al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Abd al-Ṣamad, ʿĀmilī (n.d.); D. Stewart (1996: *JAOS*, vol. 116, no. 3, 399); Jahānbash Thavāqib (1392 Sh: *NTI*, no. 9, 35–79).
77 See Louise Marlow (1995: *SI,* no. 81, 101–120); Lynette Mitchell and Charles Melville (2013, 14–19). We discuss this matter in more detail in Chapter 7 of the present volume.
78 See Muhammad Ibn Ahmad al-‘Āmilī al-‘Alavī (manuscript no. 516, f. 12).
79 Mullā Ṣadrā (1381 Sh: 62; 1377 Sh: 67; 1411a: VI, 277).
Ṣadrā (2008: 28, 37, 68). Ṣadrā’s position regarding the Safavid kings and the alliance of jurists with the court will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.
80 Ṣadrā (1381a Sh: chapters 1–2).
81 Ṣadrā (1377 Sh: 64).
82 Ṣadrā (2008: 38).
83 *Asfār* (VII, 190). For this and similar apolitical statements of Junayd, see Farid al-Din Aṭṭār’s *Tadhkirat al-Awlīyā* (1363 Sh: chapter 43, 21).
84 *al-Asfār* (VII, 190).
85 See Mullā Ṣadrā (1377 Sh: 46, 75).
86 Mullā Ṣadrā (2008: 98–99).
87 A. Newman (2006: 30, 35, 172).
88 The historical and social background of other philosophers such as Socrates, Plato and Fārābī are similar to that of Ṣadrā. Plato witnessed much political and social disorder, because of which Socrates was condemned to death. Similarly, due to his spiritual virtues and the refinement of his mind, Fārābī could not tolerate the political situation of his time. He was in search of an ideal society, and in order to achieve that, he worked out the theoretical prerequisites, clarifying political and social issues. See Javad Ṭabātabā’ī (1382 Sh: 161–162); Alban Dewes Winspea (2011: 208); David Sider (1977: 180–183).
89 Ṣadrā (1984: 127, 355); Ṣadrā (1976: 278). See also S. Amir-Arjomand (1988a).
90 See, for instance, his autobiographical essay at the beginning of *Asfār* I. See also his *Seh Aṣl* and his *al-Wāridāt al-Qalbiyya fi Ma‘rifat al-Rubūbiyya*.
91 M. Khājawī (1366: 34–40); M.A. Chelongar (1383: 263–278); L. Lewisohn (1999: 95–98).
92 M. Khājawī (1366 Sh: 34–40). Cf. S. Rizvi (2007: 32); K. Babayan (1996: 125–131).
93 Ṣadrā (1390b Sh: 138); Ṣadrā (1377 Sh: 27, 79, 107); Ṣadrā (n.d.a: 3).

94 Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 377).
95 Astarābadī's well-known book *al-Fawā'id al-Madaniyya* (d. 1424/2003) is recognised as the manifesto of the Akhbārī school. On Astarābādī, see R. Gleave (2007); E. Kohlberg (1987: *EIr*, II, 845–6); Āqā Bozorg Tehrani (1936–78: V, 51)
96 Hence the name Akhbārī for the school of thought with which Astarābādī came to be identified. See A. Newman (1992: *BSOAS*, 55/1, 22–51; 1992: *BSOAS*, 55/2, 250–261).
97 Rasūl Ja'farian (1383 Sh: 245–262); A. Newman (1992: 55, I, 22–51).
98 For a study of one late Safavid text, *Munyat al-Mumārisīn* by 'Abd Allah Ṣāliḥ al-Samahījī (d. 1135/1722), where the author discusses forty areas of controversy between the Akhbārī and Uṣūlī, see A. Newman (1992: *BSOAS*, 55, 22–51, 250–261). For an introduction to this school, see also E. Kohlberg (1985: *EIr*, I, 716–718).
99 For more details on the history and doctrines behind the Akhbārī-Uṣūlī dispute, see Robert Gleave (2007: 170–171). For a view that attempts to link Akhbārīsm to the rise of particular social classes within society, see Amir Arjomand (1984: 146–155). For a view that claims a link between Akhbārīsm and royal patronage designed to undermine clerical authority, see Jawdat Qazwini (1412: 1, 83–92).
100 D. Stewart (2003: 182f.).
101 *Asfār* (I, 6).
102 Ḥashwiyya (also *ahl al-ḥashw*) is a pejorative label used by Muʿtazilī theologians and other rationalists to malign the 'people of tradition' (*aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*), Ḥanbalīs, and other traditionalists. The most common etymon posited is the Arabic *ḥashw* (to stuff), one accusation against the Ḥashwiyya being that they 'stuffed' unreliable hadith reports into their argumentation. See Jon Hoover (2016: *EI* Three); David Dean Commins (1990: 75–77).
103 The Karrāmiyya, founded by Abū ʿAbd Allah Muhammad b. Karrām (d. 896), is a sect that flourished in the central and eastern parts of the Islamic world, especially in regions of Iran, from the ninth century until the Mongol invasions in the thirteenth century. The doctrine of the Karrāmiyya involved literalism and anthropomorphism. See Aron Zysow (2011: *EIr*, vol. XV, fasc. 6: 590–601).
104 Ṣadrā (2008: 35).
105 Ṣadrā (1377 Sh: 8).
106 For more on Davānī, see A. Newman (1996: *EIr*, vol. 7, 132–133).
107 Astarābadī (1424/2003: 406–510).
108 For more on Ṣadrā's criticism of literalists and anti-rationalists, see *Asfār* (I, 4–5); Ṣadrā (1377 Sh: 5–7); Ṣadrā (1979: 87).
109 As an illustration, Ṣadrā said that revelation is like a sun, and human reason is like eyes. Without the light of the sun, the eyes would be unable to see, and light without eyes is of no effect. Like the sun, revelation is effective if the person uses reason. Those who do not use the light of the reason and live in the darkness of ignorance consequently have a very shallow understanding of the Qur'an and the narrations. They remain at the surface of literal meaning and never understand the wisdom of the message of religion. For example, see Ṣadrā (1411a: II, 9, 339; IV, 405; V, 72; VI, 88).
110 Ṣadrā's interpretation of the Qur'an was published in seven volumes for the first time by Bidār Press, Qum, in 1411. In his introduction to *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, Ṣadrā explains his motivation for writing this interpretation.
111 This collection is one of the four most important collections of Shi'a hadith. The other three are *al-Tahdhīb* and *al-Istibṣār*, by Muhammad Ibn Hasan al-Ṭūsī (d. 460 /1068), and *Faqīhu Man lā Yaḥḍuruhu al-Faqīh*, by Muhammad Ibn 'Ali Ibn Husayn Ibn Bābawayh al-Qumi, known as Shaykh Ṣadūq (d. 381/991).
112 *Hujja* literally means 'proof', but in this context it refers to the Twelve Imams after the Prophet, since they are the proofs of God and religious knowledge.
113 M. Khāmene'ī (1379 Sh: I, 161, 278).
114 S. Rizvi (2007: 45).

115 Scholars explicitly identified as Akhbārīs represent only a small proportion of the scholars of the period catalogued in a work such as al-Ṭihrānī's *Ṭabaqāt al-A'lām*. Those who are identified as Uṣulīs, or *mujtahids*, are also not so numerous. The evidence concerning the majority of minor scholars of the period in question is insufficient to categorise them as either Akhbārīs or Uṣulīs. Nevertheless, some of the Akhbārīs are Tājīk Sayyid Muhammad Sabzavārī (d. after 1672), known as Mir Lawḥī, who had attacked Majlisī in the latter years of Abbās's reign, Mullā Ahmad Tūnī and Muhammad Ismā'īl Mazandarani and Muhammad Ṭāhir Ibn Muhammad Husain Qumi (d. 1098/1687), a native of Shiraz who composed the anti-Sufi sections of *Ḥadīqat al-Shi'a*. For information on these scholars, see Muhammad Muḥsin Āghā Buzurg Tehrani (1936–78: V, 303).

116 Fayḍ Kashani (1390: 35–36); R Gleave (2007: 222).

117 See my introduction to Fayḍ's *Spiritual Mysteries and Ethical Secrets* (2012).

118 *Asfār* (VI, 6).

119 Ṣadrā (2008: 28).

120 See N. Green (2015: 376–377). This model is echoed somewhat by politicians in Iran today under the concept of *wilāyat al-faqīh*, in which political power is concentrated in the jurisprudential leader (*faqīh*), not as an impeccable imperator but as an authorised representative of the Twelfth Imam during the occultation.

121 It should be noted that during the Safavid Dynasty this role was presented in symbolic terms and that the mechanisms of state power under the shah were guided by a principle of negotiating the distribution of power amongst Persian, Turkmen, Arab and Caucasian notables and jurists C. Mitchell (2009: 177). For details on the mechanism of Safavid political power, see Hāshim Āghājarī (1380: 25–42). For the Safavid administrative system, see R. Savory (1986: VI, 351–372)

122 See for example Husayn Ibn Murtaḍā Husayni Astarābādī (1364 Sh: 19ff); Ibn Bazzāz (1376 Sh/1997).

123 See A. Newman (1999b: vol. 37, 95–108); Rula Abisaab (2004); Michel M. Mazzaoui (1972).

124 See the anti-Abu Muslim and anti-Sufi sections in *Hadīqat al-Shi'a*, a work attributed to Ahmad Ardabīlī (d. 1585), who was himself well-known for his critique of the Safavid political institution. For more investigation on *Hadīqat al-Shi'a*, see Muhammad Muḥsin Āghā Buzurg Tehrani (1936–78: III, 26); M. 'Isā Ja'farī (1375 Sh: *JḤ*, no. 75, 65–96). See also A. Newman (1999: *MSIWD*, no. 37, 95–108).

125 A. Newman (2006: 84). These groups are also accused of rejecting the concept of resurrection (*ma'ād*). For the ghulāt, the human being died only to be reincarnated (*tanāsukh*), returning to this world in a different form. Beliefs that revelation never ceased, that Muhammad was not the Seal of the Prophets, and that the souls of earlier prophets could transmigrate into different human forms at any given time were an alluring platform that aspiring radicals came to embrace. See K. Babayan (1994: *IrS*, vol. 27, no. 1–4, 140).

126 See R. Ja'farīyān (1373–1378 Sh: vol. 7); Marshall Hodgson (1974: I, 238–239).

127 K. Babayan (1994: *IrS*, vol. 27, no. 1–4, 154); A. Zarrīnkūb (1353 Sh); Q. Ghanī (1340 Sh).

128 See K. Shaybī (1380 Sh); K. Babayan (1994: *IrS*, vol. 27, no. 1–4, 140).

129 Mahmūd Pesīkhānī (d. 1427) was the founder of the Nuqtavī movement in Iran, an offshoot of the Ḥurūfī movement. He was born in Pesīkhān, Iran, in Gilan. Pesīkhānī claimed he was the reincarnation of Muhammad on a higher plane and declared himself Mahdi in 1397. See Abbas Amanat (1996: 290); Hamid Algar (1994: 114–117).

130 At the outset of Abbās I's reign, the Nuqtavīs seem to have been the first recorded Sufi/ghulāt movement since the inception of the Safavids to have enjoyed a wide following among the Qizilbāsh, in particular among prominent dignitaries at court.

This cleared the way for greater reliance on Shi'a jurists. For more on the Nuqtavīs, see Hamid Algar (1994: 114–117); A. Newman (2006: 46–54).

131 K. Babayan (1994: no. 4, 154–155).

132 A. Newman (2006: 70); S. Rizvi (2007: 30–31).

133 For this claim, see Ma'sūm 'Ali-Shah Shirazi (1339 Sh: 183).

134 See Ṣadrā's complaints of those who accused him for his mystical and philosophical approach to sacred texts in his introduction to *Asfār* (I, 7).

135 Ṣadrā (2008: 99).

136 See S. J. Āshtīyānī (1365 Sh: 5–17); Gh. Ibrāhīmī Dīnānī (1386 Sh: 181, 471–490).

137 Āmulī called on the orthodox Shi'a to accept the validity of the mystics' inner interpretation of the Imami teachings and urged them to admit that the secret of all science and esoteric learning lies in the teaching of the Imams and that without Shi'ism, Sufism could not exist. Concerning Āmulī and his important role in Shi'i mysticism, see E. Kohlberg (1989: *EIr*, vol. I, fasc. 9, 983–985); Josef Van Ess (1998); H. Corbin (1963: 72–101).

138 John Cooper correctly says that this accusation remains the case in the contemporary period. J. Cooper (1999: 432). Cf. S Rizvi (2007: 43).

139 Ṣadrā (1381a Sh: 17, 23, 43); Ṣadrā (1377 Sh: chapters 1–2).

140 Ṣadrā (1381a Sh: 62).

141 See, for example, *Asfār* (VI, 284); Ṣadrā (2008: 4, 62, 135).

142 For more on Ṣadrā's views on Ḥallāj, Bāyazīd Basṭāmī and his favourable opinion of early Sufism, see Nasrollah Pourjavādy (1378 Sh/1999: 14–24).

143 Ṣadrā (2008: 33–34).

144 Obviously, Ṣadrā's criticisms of Sufism have nothing in common with those of, for example, Muhammad Ṭāhir Qummī (d. 1098/1686) or Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ardabīlī (Muqaddas Ardabīlī). For the opposition to Sufism by Imami jurists and theologians, see N. Pourjavady (1999: 614–624); A, Newman (1999: *Ir*, XXXVII).

145 Ṣadrā (1381a Sh: 51); Ṣadrā (2008: 97).

146 Ṣadrā (1381a Sh: 52). For similar statements, see also Ṣadrā (2008: 28, 55, 71).

147 Ṣadrā (1381a Sh: 26).

148 For more on heterodox Sufi orders, see I.P. Petrushevsky (1985); B.S. Amoretti (1986: 6); J. Baldick (1989: 71–77, 94, 96, 100–104). For the dynastic history of the Musha'sha', see P. Luft (1954–2004: *EI*, vol. 7, 672–675)

149 Muhammad Ibn Falāḥ's thought contained a radically activist message and attempted to gain political power, whereas Nurbakhsh was imprisoned because of the political potential of his claims. One such element comprised those who claimed to be the Mahdi, a designation reserved exclusively for the Twelfth Imam in normative Twelver Shi'ism. Both Musha'sha' and Nurbakhsh moved away from the belief in occultation in its usual form in order to successfully portray themselves as equal to the earlier Imams. Being a Mahdi in a Shi'i context necessarily requires going beyond traditional belief, since the claimant has to argue against the very basis of the idea of Twelve uniquely-guided Imams who, according to the religious orthodoxy, have already historically existed. Conversely, however, it would be crucial for such a Sufi leader to access the charisma inscribed in traditions regarding the Twelfth Imam in order to acquire spiritual and political power through the claim. See Shahzad Bashir (2001: 23–26).

150 Shahzad Bashir (2001: 30–31).

151 For more on extreme Sufis orders and their political claims in the Sadavid period, see K. Babayan (2002); Marshall Hodgson (1974: I, 493–500).

152 L. Lewisohn (1999: 80).

153 For more on the rivalry between orthodox Shi'ism and Sufism, see C. Mitchell (2009: 100–103).

154 C. Mitchell (2009: 69).

155 For the Shi'i view on this issue, see A. Sachedina (1988: 99). See also Colin Turner (2002: 178–181).
156 C. Mitchell (2009: 102). There are princely advice manuals like Jalāl al-Dın Davānī's *Akhlāq-i Jalālī*, Husayn Vā'iz Kāshifī's (d. 1504) *Akhlaq-i Muḥsinī*, and those by Muzaffar al-Husaini al-Ṭabīb al-Kashani (d. 1551), who dedicated his own *Akhlāq-i Shāhī* to Shah Ṭahmāsp. For a review on the earlier *littérateur célèbres* whereby the concept of kingship was conceived, see Aziz Azmeh (1997: 124); Āqā Bozorg Tehrani (1936: vol. 1, 377–378).
157 R. Stanfield-Johnson (2004: *IrS*, vol. 37).
158 R.J. Abisaab (2004: 55–56).
159 See M. Kadīvar (1378 Sh: *ṢE*)
160 Colin P. Mitchell (2009: 103); R.J. Abisaab (2004: 18); Caroline Beeson (1982).
161 Ṣadrā (1377 Sh: 64).
162 See, for example, Ṣadrā (1377 Sh: 57, 69, 70, 76); Mullā Ṣadrā (2008: 26–27).
163 Ṣadrā (2008: 28).
1 For Aristotle's view on categories of science and their relation to politics, see Fred D. Miller (1995). For a comparative study of the positions of Ṣadrā and Aristotle on the philosophy of the human soul, see R. Akbarīyān and A. Ghaffārī (1388: *KhNS*, no. 56: 4–170).
2 For a few important instances where Ṣadrā attempts to integrate the ideas of Suhrawardī and Ibn al-'Arabī into his own vast synthesis, see H. Nasr (1997b: 19, 28, 47, 81).
3 See *Asfār* (IX, 108); *Asfār* (II, 31). See also Muhammad Abd al-Haq (1970: *JIRI* , vol. IX, 953).
4 Islamic Neoplatonists emphasise a moral life and self-purification as the means to understanding divine knowledge. See G. Fowden (1986: 132). They also promote the idea of the inculcation of 'holiness', separation of the soul from the cage of the body, and the realisation of the divine spark within the soul. Philosophy is thus more than noesis (both discursive and non-discursive) and involves spiritual practice. See D. Sedley (1999: 309–328). For the Platonic background of these ideas, see J.M. Armstrong (2004: *OSAP,* 26: 171–183).
5 *Asfār* (IX: 108). Probably more than from Neoplatonism, in this matter Ṣadrā takes his inspiration from the Qur'an. See his mystical interpretation of the Qur'anic verse 'If you obey and practice [spirituality], He will grant you Furqān [a criterion to judge between right and wrong]' (8:29), Mullā Ṣadrā (1411a: I, 507; III: 394; V: 420).
6 See Suhrawardī (1952: *Opera* II, 110); M. Amin Razavi (1997: 103–107).
7 See his *Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* (III, 448.7) in W. Chittick (2003: 70–72).
8 See *Asfār* (I, 83; IV, 54, 71).
9 For example, in his *Asfār,* he says: 'During the periods of my retreat and spiritual exercises, I intuited the reality of myself through knowledge by presence, and [I realised] that by intellectual endeavours and exercises, I could find the origin and ultimate goal of the soul. Then, by virtue of this intuition, I found the reality of my Creator and His glorious creations, and could familiarise myself with the eternal world.' (I: Introduction, 7.). There is a philosophical explanation of this matter in A. Javādī Āmulī (1417: 37).
10 Ṣadrā (1411a: V, 346).
11 *Asfār* (VIII, 224).
12 *Asfār* (IX, 278, 318). See also M.B. Majlisī (1374 Sh: II, 32).
13 *Asfār* (I, 266, 307–311).
14 According to Mullā Ṣadrā, all human knowledge in the end refers to 'knowledge by presence'. He outlines his demonstration of this theory at the end of his chapter on mental existence. See *Asfār* (I, 308–309). His presentation of this innovative epistemological theory involves the transformation of many traditional Suhrawardian and Avicennan philosophical principles. See I. Kalin (2010: chapter 3); M. Amin Razavi (2003: 91–98).

15 To compare the views of Ṣadrā and Suhrawardī on this subject, see Ṣadrā (1313: 378); Ibn ʻArabī (n.d.: II, 219); Suhrawardī (1945: 112–113).
16 See Ṣadrā (1411a: VI, 206; VII, 238, 389). On ascetic practice (*riyāḍa*) and philosophy, see Suhrawardī (1999: 162).
17 Ṣadrā quotes Suhrawardī's famous dream vision of Aristotle, in which the Stagirite tells him to 'start with yourself' to understand knowledge. *Asfār* (III, 450); J. Walbridge (2000: 225), cited from Suhrawardī (1945: *Talwīḥāt*, 70–74). Cf. M. Hāerī Yazdī (1992, 183–189).
18 See *Asfār* (V, 106; IX, 180, 293, 344); Ṣadrā (1982a: 255).
19 See Abdul al-Wāḥid Tamīmī Āmīdī (1359 Sh/1980: 232).
20 This is narrated in most hadith collections. See M.B. Mjlisī (1374 Sh: vol. 61, 99; vol. 59, 293; vol. 70, 72). Ṣadrā refers several times to this and similar hadiths. See *Asfār* (VI, 302, 377; VII, 21; VIII, 35, 306).
21 See Mullā Ṣadrā (1411a: I, 96; VI, 215; VII, 380). The mechanism of the perfection of the soul when dealing with life in the world will be examined later in this and the next chapter.
22 In his classic book on knowledge in medieval Islam, Franz Rosenthal shows the centrality of the concept of knowledge in major Islamic traditions. Citing from a variety of primary sources, he addresses different definitions of knowledge in Islamic literature. In comparing these definitions, one discovers that Muslim thinkers generally considered knowledge in the light of the true condition of the correspondence between subject and object. See F. Rosenthal (2007: 52–69).
23 Ibn Sīnā (1973: 12).
24 Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 14).
25 *Asfār* (I, 58).
26 Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 241–243). On this issue in Islamic philosophy with a focus on Mullā Ṣadrā and the Ismāʻīlī thinker Ḥamīd al-dīn Kirmānī, see S. Meisami (2018). On the issue of knowledge/power in modern Western philosophical thought, see M. Foucault (1980: 135–145).
27 *Asfār* (III, 360). For a detailed examination of the concept of *ittiḥād al-ʻāqil wa'l-maʻqūl* in Ṣadrā's philosophy, see H. Hasanzādeh Āmulī (1362 Sh).
28 *Asfār* (III, 337).
29 Mullā Ṣadrā (2004: II, 73).
30 Mullā Ṣadrā (2004: II, 562).
31 *Asfār* (I, 324–325).
32 Gerhard Endress (2012: *Sga*, 2, 263–279); E. Elliott Calverley (1955: *MW*, no. 33: 254–246).
33 See Plato (1997: 524–525); *Plotinus: Enneads*, trans. Armstrong, IV, 399; Richard C. Taylor (2012: *MW*, no. 102: 3–4; Richard Swinburne (1986); A.R. Badawi (1948/1413: 42).
34 See Hasan Moṣṭafavī (2010: *SoP*, II, no. 4, 19–29).
35 Aristotle (1941b: II, 412 a 27, 412 b).
36 According to Aristotle, the first perfection (entelechy) refers to the grades of actuality (*De Anima* II, 1). Soul is the perfection of the enclosed body, its entelechy, the essential form of the living being. Aristotle distinguishes the first perfection from the second by the example of the degree of knowledge; the first is the degree of acquired knowledge, the second is knowledge employed in an actual cognitive act. In the soul, reason is active, at first potentially and then actually, and as the eye is in need of light to make the seen visible, so reason is in need of an activating principle that 'makes all things'. (See *De Anima* III: 5.)
37 Fārābī (1353 Sh: 54); Hanna al-Fakhuri and Khalil al-Jurr (1979: II, 420); cf. Mohsen Javādī (2007: *SAWITD*, vol. 5, 67–77).
38 Fārābī (1362 Sh: 75); F. Rahman (1958: chapter 1, section 1).
39 Ibn Sīnā (1959: 10–11); Shahrām Pazoukī (2007: *SAWITD*, vol. 5, 163–171).

40 Ibn Sīnā (1981: 215).
41 For Avicenna's view in *De Anima*, see Fazlur Rahman (1959: 12).
42 Ibn Sīnā (1983a: 7); Ryan Szpiech (2010: *ASPh*, vol. 20, no. 2, 185–206).
43 Ibn Sīnā (1992a: 196); Fazlur Rahman (1952: 58).
44 *Asfār* (III, 458).
45 For a modern theory that integrate the realms of body, mind, soul and spirit with a different approach, and its implication in politics, see Ken Wilber (2001). For a study of Michel Foucault's theory on reconciling the bodily and the spiritual, in which Foucault offers a twofold critique of Christianity by bringing the body and sexuality into religious practice and exploring a political spirituality of the self, see Jeremy R.Carrette (2000).
46 *Asfār* (VIII, 9–11).
47 Mullā Ṣadrā (1984: 514).
48 L.P. Peerwani (2004: 74).
49 *Asfār* (VIII, 51, 221–226, 310, 375); Mullā Ṣadrā (1984*:* 553).
50 Ṣadrā explains this in *Asfār* (VIII, 3–10) as follows: The differentiation between the essence of the soul and the annexed meaning of the soul is the same as the differentiation between the definition of the absolute human being and the bricklayer because, in defining the absolute human being, we do not need to mention the term 'bricklayer', whereas in defining the bricklayer, the definition only denotes a particular function, not the bricklayer's essence and nature. Therefore, the essence of the soul is its true definition, unattached to terms such as 'body' or 'matter', as these only aid in defining its role or function and do not define its essential nature.
51 *Asfār* (VIII, 6).
52 Aristotle (1941a: 2.2, 413a32). See Dimitri Gutas (2014: part 1, 3, 80, part 3, 288).
53 Jules L. Janssens (2006: 1–13).
54 Mullā Ṣadrā (1982a: 235).
55 Ṣadrā (1411a: VII, 23). To compare Ṣadrā's view on this issue with Ibn Sīnā's, see (1375 Sh: 55, 57); to compare Ṣadrā with Suhrawardī, see G. Ibrāhīmī Dīnānī (1366 Sh: 577); Shihāb al-Din Suhrawardī (1361 Sh: 205).
56 *Asfār* (VI, 23). See also the related discussion in L.P. Peerwani (2004: 54).
57 *Asfār* (VIII, 3–10).
58 *Asfār* (VIII, 6).
59 To examine Ṣadrā's Pythagorean background on the idea of the nature of all existents and their intrinsic desire to move toward their own telos, see Proclus (1903–6).
60 *Asfār* (VIII, 3–5). Cf. 'Abd al-Haq (1970: *JIRI*, vol. 9: 176).
61 *Asfār* (I, 290; VIII, 11–12); Mullā Ṣadrā (1984: 408); Mullā Ṣadrā (1976: 330).
62 *Asfār* (VIII, 333).
63 Ṣadrā thought that an objection could be adduced against Ibn Sīnā for maintaining that the human soul is an immaterial substance, not homogeneous with the body, which is material, yet united with the body. According to Ṣadrā, this is absurd because two separate things, one material and the other immaterial, cannot be united. Being as a relational immaterial concept, not a substantive one, as Ibn Sīnā maintains, cannot solve the problem because the soul, at its birth, is *in matter*; its soul-ness cannot be construed as a relation as though it had an independent existence of its own and *then came* into a relationship with matter. See *Asfār* (III, 458–459).
64 *Asfār* (VIII, 8, 325–330).
65 *Asfār* (VIII, 9–11, 88, 299; IX, 38).
66 *Asfār* (VIII, 249–250).
67 Mullā Ṣadrā (1362 Sh: 51); *Asfār* (III, 323). For Ibn Sīnā's view, see Ibn Sīnā (1375 Sh*:* III, 292–295); for Fārābī's view, see Abu Nasr Al-Fārābī (1985: 85); for Suhrawardī's view, see his *Opera* (1952: I, 68–69).
68 *Asfār* (VIII, 6–7).

69 *Asfār* (VIII, 346).
70 *Asfār* (VIII, 15–16).
71 Mullā Ṣadrā (1984: 152).
72 The Illuminationist root of the doctrine of *tashkīk al-wujūd* is significant, since the Illuminationist tradition also considers quiddities as universals that undergo intensification, a concept that Ṣadrā then applies to being. See *Asfār* (I, 441, 443; IV, 270; V, 92). Cf. Suhrawardī (1945: 13, 22). However, Ṣadrā tells us that he is rejecting the Illuminationist position, as gradation (*tashkīk*) only applies to being, since different intensities of being still permit causality, but if gradation were to occur in quiddity, a quiddity of a different intensity could not be a cause for another. See *Asfār* (VI, 21, 390); *Asfār* (I, 427); Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 134–136).
73 *Asfār* (VIII, 326–327).
74 *Asfār* (IX, 98–99).
75 Ibn Sīnā explicitly maintained in his *al-Shifā* that the human soul is immaterial in its advent and attached to the body for a while. See Ibn Sīnā (1983b: 408–409). See also Fakhr al-Din Rāzi (1990: 390–391). For Ibn Sīnā and his divergence from Fārābī on this issue, see Herbert A. Davidson (1992: 83, 103–114).
76 *Asfār* (IIII, 330–331).
77 See Fazlur Rahman (1975: 199).
78 *Asfār* (VIII, 71–72, 220–221).
79 According to various religious beliefs referring to different Qur'anic passages, the human soul is divinely effused into the human body at a certain age. For example, Muslim religious scholars often refer to the following famous verse from the Qur'an to prove their point: '*wa nafakhtu fihi min rūḥī*' ('and I blew into him [Adam] of My Spirit'). See Mullā Ṣadrā (1411a: V: 154). For Muslim scholars' views, see Ibn Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī (1982: 103); Fakhr al-Din Rāzī (1934: 291); Abbās Yazdī (1380 Sh: 171); Hasan Hasanzadeh Āmulī (1361 Sh: 502–503). For a comparative study on the descent and ascent of the human soul, see Abdul Kabir Hussain Solihu (2008: *JTPh*, vol. 9, no. 1: 151–182).
80 See Mullā Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 229); Mullā Ṣadrā (1984: 221); J.W. Morris (1981: 132).
81 See *Asfār* (IX, 100–103; VIII, 130–133).
82 *Asfār* (IV, 14).
83 *Asfār* (VIII, 390); Rezā Akbarīyān (2002: *IJCPM*, vol. 3, no. 2: 161–181).
84 Ṣadrā tells us that he had mastered all philosophy that came before him, including that of Greek and other non-Arabīc origin, as well as Ibn Sīnā and Suhrawardī, on this and other crucial issues, and argues against them as if they were his contemporaries. See *Asfār* (I, 5).
85 *Asfār* (VIII, 134–135).
86 This common qualification does not mean that all bodily entities have in their actual state the opportunity to reach the highest level of existence, since each existent must pass through certain intervening stages of dynamic transformation. See Mullā Ṣadrā (1379 Sh: 116, 252); Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 223–224).
87 *Asfār* (VIII, 134–135).
88 The material world is the realm of multiplicity (*kathra*), and the world of intelligibles is the realm of *waḥda. Waḥda* is concomitant with simplicity/oneness (*bisāṭat*), and this means that the species in that world have only one referent (*miṣdāq*) with no components. See *Asfār* (I, 272).
89 *Asfār* (II, 13).
90 For example, Ibn Sīnā, in order to prove his assertion of the immateriality of the human soul, says that 'a person, under certain suppositions, can affirm his own ego without affirming the existence of his body' (Avicenna, *De Anima,* 16). Ibn Sīnā's insistence on the conception of the human soul as an immaterial substance was probably motivated by religious considerations.

91 *Asfār* (IX, 147).

92 *Asfār* (III, 325–326); Zailan Moris (2003: 159); I. Kalin (2010: 159–160); D. Baltzly (2004: *OSAP*, XXVI, 297–321).

93 J.W. Morris (1981: 148–149).

94 For example, Christian Jambet in his *Act of Being* says: 'attachment to the body distracts one from the pursuit of philosophy; the cathartic "escape from the body" is essential for proper inquiry.' He roots Ṣadrā's philosophy in its religious context, as a 'prophetic Platonic philosophy' in which believers need to make sense of their being and self with a view to their resurrection and future life (2006: 15–16). H. Corbin defines Ṣadrā's notion of the soul as the 'subtle spiritual matter' (*mādda rūḥāniyya laṭīfa*) that plays a role in his explanation of the resurrection and afterlife of the soul and the body, so his philosophy mirrors the insights of both Plato and Heidegger as a 'preparation for death' (H. Corbin 1990: 165–168). In defining *ḥikmat al-Islami*, H. Nasr mentions Mullā Ṣadrā's view where Ṣadrā gives a spiritual exegesis of the Qur'anic verse, *Surely We created man of the best stature; then We reduced him to the lowest of the low, save for those who believe and do good works* (Quran, 95: 4–6). Nasr explains Ṣadrā's view on the bodily life of man as follows: 'In this way [for Ṣadrā], "of the best stature" refers to the spiritual world and the angelic part of the soul, "the lowest of the low" to the material world and the animal part of the soul, "those who believe" to theoretical ḥikma and those who "do good works" to practical ḥikma. Seen in this light, ḥikma in its two aspects of knowledge and action, becomes the means whereby man is saved from his wretched state of the lowest of the low and enabled to regain the angelic state in which he was originally made. Ḥikma is, in his [Ṣadrā's] view, completely wedded to religion and the spiritual life and is far removed from purely mental activity connected with the rationalistic conception of philosophy that has become prevalent in the West since the post-Renaissance period' (H. Nasr 1973: *SI*, no. 37: 57–80, 68).

95 For example, when Ibn Sīnā asserts that the human soul comes into existence simultaneously with the body, he believes that the rational soul is in essence nonmaterial and eternal. In favour of the pre-existence of the human soul, Ibn Sīnā argues that the essential cause (Creator) must necessarily coexist with its effect, i.e., the human soul. Ibn Sīnā (1992a: 224); M.E. Marmura (1984: 172–187, 180). See also A.R. Badawi (1948: 1413, 24); L. Muehlethaler (2012: no. 102: 3–4).

96 See Plotinus's view of the pre-eternity of the human soul in his *Plotini Opera, Tomus II, Enneades* IV–V, chapter 9, 177–189 and chapter 3, 199–211. See also Armstrong, A.H. (1966–1988: IV, 2–83).

97 Few verses are considered connected to the belief of the pre-existence of the soul, one of which is mentioned here and concerns God's taking a solemn oath from all of the children of Adam. Another example is, 'They question you concerning the Spirit; Say, the Spirit is of the command of my Lord' (17:85). The majority of both Shi'ite and Sunni traditions concerning the interpretation of theses verses centre around the process through which God created the clay (*ṭīna*) from which the substance of all human individuals is derived. For Shi'a traditions, see M.Y. Kulaynī (1988: II, 2–7); for Sunni traditions, see M. Jarīr Ṭabarī (1412: 76).

A hadith coming from the fourth Imam, 'Ali Zayn al-'Ābidīn, states: 'Verily God (*'azza wa jall*) created the prophets from the superior nature (*ṭīna*): both their hearts and their bodies. And He created the hearts of the believers from this superior nature, while He created their bodies from other than this. And He created the unbelievers from the inferior nature, both their hearts and their bodies. Then He mixed the two kinds of nature.' See M.Y. Kulaynī (1988: II, 2.)

If we understand the nature of the human being, in either its superior or inferior form, to refer to the very worldly existence of man, then it should make perfect sense, from a Sadrian perspective, that the soul as the identity of the man should be made

of both dimensions. The individual then represents an especial creature whose soul is integrated with the pure substance of the world of the spirit and materially individuated in this world.

98 Plato (1951: part VI, book X, 341–345); Gerhard Endress (2012: *Sga* 2, e-open access, 263–279, 268).

99 *Asfār* (IX, 195).

100 The pre-mortal existence of the human soul for him refers to the belief that each individual human soul existed in the world of Ideals or Forms. Plato (1951: part VI, book X, 344–345); Suhrawardī (1977: II, 7; III, 107); Suhrawardī (1361 Sh: 3).

101 See Ṣadrā's proofs in favour of the descent (*hubūt*) of the immaterial soul from the realm of divinity in *Asfār* (VIII, 354–370; IX, 47); Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 372).

102 Ṣadrā, tr. Parviz Morewedge (1992: 59). For the background to Ṣadrā's view in Shi'i traditions, see Maria Dakake (2005: *EsExH*, 147–166).

103 *Asfār* (IX, 79).

104 See Ibn al-'Arabī (n.d.: I, 157; II, 446).

105 See this mystical language of Mullā Ṣadrā on the human soul and body in Mullā Ṣadrā (1976: 199, 467); Mullā Ṣadrā (1984: 39, 133, 650); Mullā Ṣadrā (1379 Sh: 219).

106 See J.W. Morris (1981: 141). Several of these sayings are also discussed by Ṣadrā in his *al-Mashā'ir* (59–63). In Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 221), there are also many hadiths on the pre-existence of the human soul. See M.B. Majlisī (1374 Sh: vol. 56: 138, 144; vol. 54: 169, 58).

107 Ṣadrā (1411a: VI, 31).

108 *Asfār* (IX, 228–229, 194).

109 Armstrong, A.H. (1966–1988: IV, 1.5–15).

110 Mullā Ṣadrā (1984: 57).

111 *Asfar* (VIII, 135–137, 223, 227); Mullā Ṣadrā (1379 Sh: 91, 177).

112 In a theologico-philosophical context, the principle of the gradation of existence usually is used for a completely different aim. For example, Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī uses it to explain Avicenna's position on how there must be a shared concept of being for the term to apply to both *sensibilia* and *intelligibilia*. Ibn Sīnā (1375 Sh: III, 535–536); Shams Inati (200: 119–120); N. Ṭūsī (1405: 124). The Shi'i theologian Ibn Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī (d. 1325) argued pointedly that it was only with such a position that theology could be meaningful; otherwise the contingent merely has the word 'being' suffixed to it, and theology would lead to agnosticism (*ta'ṭīl*), and we would have to stop considering such concepts as God's attributes as analogous to the created. See M. Ḥillī (1959: 6). In *Asfār* (I, 77–78), Mullā Ṣadrā himself uses this principle to attack the Ash'arite position that denied the analogy between divine and human attributes and that assumed that 'being' was a purely homonymous term. For a Sunni position on this issue see, Sa'd al-Dīn Taftazānī (n.d.: I, 341). For more in English on the theological and philosophical implications of *tashkīk*, see S. Rizvi (2009a).

113 In *Asfār* he quotes from the tenth *mīmar* of the *Theologia*, an extract that exemplifies how the doctrine of a simple reality reconciles monism and pluralism without advocating either of them. The multiplicity of known objects does not entail multiplicity in God. The simple Intellect (that is God) knows all things, since all things are present in God as the ultimate referent of all concepts. See *Asfar* (VII, 272). Cf. *Asfār* (VI, 277); A.R. Badawi (1948: 134).

114 *Asfār* (I, 11–12).

115 Mullā Ṣadrā (1363 Sh: 132).

116 Proclus of Athens was the most authoritative philosopher of late antiquity, and played a crucial role in the transmission of Platonic philosophy from antiquity to the Middle Ages. Out of many fundamental issues he discussed is Plato's theory of participation (in Sadrian language, *ḥuḍūr* or 'presence'), which explains the relation between the

intelligible world and the sensible reality it grounds. This theory raised many problems, several of which Plato himself brings up in the first part of his *Parmenides*. Most pressing was the puzzle of how a Form can be at the same time one and the same and exist as a whole in many participants. See *Proclus' Commentary on Plato's Paramenides* (1987: 131a–b). Proclus, however, applies this principle to explain the most difficult problem facing Neoplatonic metaphysics, namely, how to understand the procession of the manifold from the One. How can the One be wholly without multiplicity, when it must somehow be the cause of any and all multiplicity? The One remains in itself absolutely unparticipatory. According to some scholars, it was Iamblichus who introduced this innovative doctrine, others attribute it to Proclus' teacher Syrianus. Cf. Armstrong (1966–88: V, 141).

117 Suhrawardī (1952: II, 133). See also M. Amin Razavi (1997: 80–82).

118 Ibn Sīnā (1983b: 370–371). In response to Ibn Sīnā and supporting the position of Suhrawardī, Mullā Ṣadrā maintained that the existence of each thing is not a totally separate form of existence but that all existence is a degree of the light of Being; that the transcendent unity of Being (*waḥdat al-wujūd*) is hidden behind the veil of the multiplicity of quiddities and particular forms of existence. See *Asfār* (VI, 17).

119 Ibn Sīnā (1375 Sh: III, 122–123).

120 Otherwise it would be nonexistence (*'adam*), which has no reality in the extra-mental. The concept of non-existence in the mind exists through mental existence, a lower and limited level of existence.

121 Ṣadrā (1976: 52–53).

122 *Asfār* (VI, 271–272; II: 291, 368); Ṣadrā (1982a: 223). For further explanation of this very delicate topic, see A. Javādī Āmulī, (1387 Sh: 59, 63, 76).

123 Ṣadrā (1982a: 219).

124 Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 50–51).

125 Mullā Ṣadrā (1984: 556).

126 The term *wujūd* (being) is a noun derived from the root *w-j-d*, which denotes 'finding' and 'what is found'. See Sayyed Ali Jurjānī (1969: 270); William Chittick (1989: 6). Considering the root of this term, for the mystics, God is the real instance of this term, because it univocally and exclusively applies to Him, and if it is applied to contingents, its usage is then metaphorical. See Sayyed Ḥaydar Āmulī (1367 Sh: 407). For Ṣadrā's lengthy discussion on this, see Ṣadrā (1982a: 220); (1376 Sh: 46); (1379 Sh: 39); *Asfār* (II, 334; III, 355; VI, 271, 134).

127 'Abd al-Razzāq Kashani (d. 1337), the renowned Shi'i Sufi and follower of Ibn al-Arabī, describes existence as the finding of Truth and union as the presence of Being. Thus it is a mode of the divine essence that is free of all determination; it is being qua being (*al-wujūd al-baḥt*). All contingency is in fact privative (*ma'dūm*) and only has 'reality' attributed to it by virtue of its correlation to 'the Face of the Truth' (*Wajh al-Ḥaqq*). See Kashani (1991: 26–28).

128 *Asfār* (I, 262).

129 Mullā Ṣadrā (1982a: 5).

130 Mullā Ṣadrā uses this doctrine as part of his own ontological proof for the existence of God, known as the 'proof of the veracious' (*burhān al-ṣiddiqin*). The monism of the doctrine is expressed in the phrase 'the simple reality is all things' (*basīṭ al-ḥaqīīa kull al-ashyā'*): God, the One, is simple and pure Being and thus as such is the totality of existence. *Asfār* (I, 129; VI, 100).

131 Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 47).

132 *Asfār* (I, 9).

133 Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 356). See similar material on this in Ṣadrā (1982a: 284); *Asfār* (II, 332). Ṣadrā discusses this issue to reconcile earthly and Godly love in the chapter on love (*'ishq*), in *Asfār* (VII, 183–184).

134 The investigation into the relation between human intellectuality and prophecy (*nubuwwa*) found a special place in Islamic philosophy. We will discuss this in Chapter 6.
135 Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 339).
136 *Asfār* (III, 340).
137 Ṣadrā says: 'Concerning this matter, the noble Plato has said that the world is of two kinds: the world of the intellect in which are to be found the intellective Forms (*muthul*), and the world of sense (*ḥiss*) in which are to be found the obscurities of sensation,' in Ṣadrā (1360 Sh*:* 205).
138 *Asfār* (III, 503–504); Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 156–162).
139 Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 480).
140 Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 341).
141 Ṣadrā (1976: 120, 358); *Asfār* (VII, 26).
142 Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 23, 344). We will elaborate this issue in Chapter 6, where we discuss the concept of prophecy, and Fārābī has used the term *ḥulūl* for the unity of the person who attains the highest level of the intellect. He describes this person as of the most perfect rank of humanity, experiencing the most exalted degree of happiness, in which his soul is united with the Active Intellect (*ḥalla fi-hi al-'aql al-fa"āl*) or 'as if it were united to the Active Intellect' (*ka'l muttaḥid bi'l 'Aql al-Fa"āl*.). This station can be achieved only if man perfects his soul with both theoretical and practical knowledge. See Fārābī (1938: 36); R. Walzer (1985: 205).
143 Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 347).
144 Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 347–348).
145 Mullā Ṣadrā (1984: 33). See a similar statement in Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 355).
146 *Asfār* (V, 343).
147 *Asfār* (VIII, 51; VIII, 121, 123).
148 *Asfār (*I, 22). For Suhrawardī, see H. Ziai and J. Walbridge (1999: 162).
149 J.W. Morris (1981: 132).
150 Mullā Ṣadrā (1379 Sh: 237).
151 *Asfār* (VIII, 136–137); Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 228–229).
152 J.W. Morris (1981: 131–132).
153 This is a doctrine of Pythagoras (570–495 BCE), which was later developed by Proclus. Like other Neoplatonists, Proclus distinguishes between altogether three so-called vehicles (*ochêmata*) of the soul. The rational soul is permanently housed in the luminous vehicle, while the non-rational soul is located in the pneumatic vehicle. By being incarnated in a human body, soul, or rather, the vegetative soul, attains a (third) 'shell-like' vehicle. Unlike Mullā Ṣadrā, Proclus distinguishes between two kinds of vehicles, one mortal and the other immortal. See E.R. Dodds (1963: 207–210). For more on the views of Greek philosophers on this issue, see *Plotinus* (1966–1988: IV, 407; V, 43, 123); J.M. Dillon and G.R. Morrow (1987: 1148); C.A. Huffman (2009: 21–44). To demonstrate this also as a feature of Iamblichus's Pythagorean Neoplatonism, see Allen Diogenes (2007: 14); Georgy Shaw (1995).
154 Suhrawardī's solution is based on his theory of Light, from which Mullā Ṣadrā is inspired to a great extent. For Suhrawardī, all the faculties of the soul are aspects of the light that shines upon all elements of the body and illuminates the powers of imagination and memory for which it is the source. This light is connected with the body by means of the animal soul (*rūḥ al-ḥayawāniyya*), the seat of which is in the liver, and leaves the body for its original home in the angelic world as soon as death destroys the equilibrium of the bodily elements. See Suhrawardī Shihāb al-Dīn (1979: 227–231).
155 Ibn Sīnā (1983a: 16, 255). Cf. M. Marmura (1986: Monist, no. 69: 383–395); Thérêse-Anne Druart (1988: 29–34).
156 Peter Heath (1992: 115).
157 *Asfār* (IX, 229).

158 See Ṣadrā's argument on this issue in *Asfār* (VIII, 221–226; VI: 100); Ṣadrā (1976: 148); Mullā Ṣadrā (1984: 553). On the simplicity of the One, see also Badawi (1948/1413, 134). Cf. A.H. Armstrong (1966–1988: II, 225; V, 59; VII, 203, 321).
159 *Asfār* (VIII, 51).
160 For the ancient idea that the soul as a compound reality is composed of all the faculties, see Aristotle (1941a: 431, b. 21).
161 *Asfār* (VIII, 134).
162 *Asfār* (V, 191).
163 *Asfār* (VIII, 135).
164 Ibn Sīnā (1400b: 201–205); *Asfār* (VI, 13).
165 See Sabzavārī's footnotes regarding this principle of Ṣadrā's in *Asfār* (VIII, 51).
166 *Asfār* (VII, 221).
167 Ibn Sīnā, his commentator Bahmanyār and Ṭūsī believed in the common concept of existence (*Mushtarak al-Ma'nawī lil-wujūd*), not in the reality of existence (*tashkīk fī ḥaqīqat al-wujūd*), as meaningful metaphysical predication would demand. Without *tashkīk*, one would not be able to divide being into the necessary and the contingent, one and many. 'Being' is a term whose meaning is shared across all its instances, individual or otherwise, whether mental, extra-mental, noumenal or phenomenal. This is the exact point that Ṣadrā challenges and asks how one can predicate the common concept of existence from instances whose realities are different and have no share in reality as *wujūd*. For Bahmanyār's view, see his *Kitāb al-Taḥṣīl* (1375 Sh: 20); for Khājeh Ṭūsī's view, see his *Muṣāri' al-Muṣāri'* (1405: 124). See also M. Mohaghegh and T. Izutsu (1983: 40–41). For Ṣadrā's arguments against Ibn Sīnā, see Mullā Ṣadrā (1303: 242–244); Mullā Ṣadrā (1976: 22); *Asfār* (III, 353; V, 291).
168 Mullā Ṣadrā (1411a: IV, 356). See Ibn Sīnā's arguments in Ibn Sīnā (1973: 145).
169 Ibn Sīnā (1400b: 216).
170 See Abd al-Razzāq al-Lāhījī (n.d.: chapter 1, 195). See also Abul Hasan Āmirī (1375: 339–344).
171 See Ibn Sīnā's discussion against substantial change in his *al-Ilāhiyyāt of al-Shifā,* 257.
172 *Asfār* (VIII, 343).
173 *Asfār* (I, 120–1); *Asfār* (III, 74).
174 For Ṣadrā's argument with Shaykh Suhrawardī on this issue, see his annotation to *al-Shifā* (1303: 27–28); *Asfār* (I, 399; VI, 22–23).
175 G. Ibrāhīmī Dīnānī (1366 Sh: 161–162); M. Amin Razavi (1992: *HI*, no. 15: 19–36). See also E. Gilson (1952).
176 *Asfār* (IV, 88); Mullā Ṣadrā (1411a: II, 7; III: 353).
177 See A.D. Lovejoy (1936: 242); S.H. Nasr and O. Leaman (1996b: II, 647).
178 See Husain Ziai and John Walbridge (1999: 83, 24–27); S. Rizvi (1999: *APh*, 9–3, 224).
179 *Asfār* (IX, 186).
180 *Asfār* (I, 47; II, 327).
181 *Asfār* (VIII, 81).
182 Vortex has no Arabic equivalent that was used by Ṣadrā, but his concept of an existent is close to the phenomenological concept of a vortex. Borrowing from Davidson and the phenomenologists, this term is used by S. Rizvi (2009a: 103) to explain the process of being in the Sadrian philosophical context. Cf. D. Davidson (1980: 174).
183 S. Rizvi (2009a: 103).
184 The question of being lies at the heart of Heidegger's metaphysics. For him, the study of the meaning of being is critical. He criticises mediaeval thinkers for their doctrines of the apriority, indefinability and 'unavailability' of being, and gives this question (*Seinsfrage*) an ontological priority in his philosophical discourse. See M. Heidegger (1996: 7). For the problem of 'being' in ancient Greece, see C. Kahn (1981: 105–134).

185 Mullā Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 13–14).
186 For more on this idea within Western philosophy, see J.P. Kenney (1991: 104); John L. Mackie (1979).
1 Mullā Ṣadrā (n.d.c.: 13).
2 Ṣadrā (1377 Sh: 48).
3 Ṣadrā (1381a Sh: 45).
4 Ṣadrā (2008: 37)
5 Cited from Max Weber (1978: 1175).
6 Said Amir-Arjomand (1985: 211), where the author contrasts Muhammad Bāqir al-Majlisī with Mullā Ṣadrā and other gnostic Shi'a of the School of Isfahan. He believes that Majlisī established the dogmatic party and made a determined effort to consolidate the hierocratic domination of the masses (*'awāmm*).
7 Given the historical fact that most mystic-philosophers of the School of Isfahan were jurists as well and were appointed to official positions in the hierocracy, Andrew Newman has challenged Corbin and Nasr's idea of 'intolerant, orthodox jurists', regarding those scholars during the reign of Shah ʿAbbās I who were primarily interested in philosophy and mysticism. Newman considers Shaykh Bahāʾī and Mir Dāmād as engaged political agents and foremost jurists. The Iranian Revolution of 1979 and the political and juridical face of Shiʿism, especially in the form of an individual like Ayatollah Khomeini who encounters a deep affinity to the thought of the School of Isfahan with a radical political agenda, are evidence that Newman's corrective is more effective against Corbin and Nasr who support such a split. See Andrew Newman (1986: 165–166).
8 H. Corbin (1956: I, 339).
9 H. Landolt (1999: *JAOS*, vol. 119, no. 3, 489).
10 H. Corbin (1971: vol. I, xiv, 181, 186, 210; vol. III, 254). See also H. Enāyat (1982: 22–24).
11 H. Nasr (1970: 241–242).
12 H. Nasr (1970: 238), cited from *Jāmi' al-Asrār*. This latter work has been edited for the first time by H. Corbin and O. Yaḥyā and has appeared in the collection of Institute Franco-Iranian of Tehran (1969).
13 Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi (1993:76).
14 Amir Moezzi (1993: 37); Moezzi brings some evidences from al-Nu'mānī, *Kitāb al-Ghayba* (chapter 20, 445f.) and Ibn Bābwayh's *Kamāl al-Dīnwa Tamām al-Ni'ma* (vol. 2, chapter 58, 673).
15 Amir Moezzi (1993: 61).
16 Amir Moezzi (1993: 68); Amir-Moezzi believes that the drama of Karbala was a decisive turning point in the political stance of early Imamism. All the information suggests that the Imams realised and were trying to persuade their faithful that the age of 'synonymity' between 'temporal' and 'spiritual' powers, as was the case in the time of the Prophet, had come to an end. Moezzi says that, according to a hadith narrated in *al-Rawḍa*by al-Kulaynī (II, 121–1220) and *Kitāb al-Ghayba* by al-Nu'mānī (161–168) after the tragedy of Karbala, other Imams refused to let themselves be entangled in the vagaries of armed rebellion and indeed justified their quietist policy by reasoning that armed uprising against oppression was the prerogative of the Mahdi upon his final manifestation. See Amir-Moezzi (2011: 427).
17 Amir-Moezzi (1993: 69).
18 Amir-Moezzi (1993:123).
19 Amir Moezzi (2011: 246–247). As we will discuss later in this chapter, Amir-Moezzi is not the first thinker to suggest a meaning other than political authority for *walāya*. For example, see H. Corbin (1993: 26–30); M. Chodkiewicz (1993: 67–77); Hamid Dabashi and Seyyed Vali Reza Nasr (1988b: 171–174). See also H. Landolt (1987:

ER, vol. 15, 316–323). For a historical approach to this concept in Shi'ism, see M.M. Dakake (2007).

20 Amir-Moezzi (2011: 429); Amir-Moezzi (1993: 64).

21 See Amir-Moezzi (2011: 335–336), cited from Ṣadrā (1377 Sh: 74–75, 83–84).

22 In today's Iran, the official interpretation of the events of Ghadīr Khumm is being used by clerical supporters of those in power to justify theocracy. In October 2014, Ali Asghar Gharavī, the son of Javād Gharavī, was sentenced to six months in prison by the Iranian government for his article, 'The Imam: A Political Leader or Role Model for the Faithful?' in the newspaper *Baḥār* (1392 Sh), in which he supported his father's account of Ghadīr.

23 The traditions about Ghadīr are some of the most extensively substantiated and acknowledged traditions, several variations of which appear in classical Islamic sources. The majority of Shi'a believe that the event of Ghadīr Khumm is a clear designation (*naṣṣ*) that ʿAli should lead the Muslims after the Prophet. Those who later formed the Sunni community unanimously conceded that this historic declaration was made but maintain that it was a call for ʿAli to be held in affection and esteem rather than a confirmation of his succession. For more details on this controversy between Shi'a and Sunni, see Abu al-Hasan Ali b. Ibrahim, Qummī (1966: 171–175); Ahmad al-Balādhirī (2003); Ignaz Goldziher (1971).

24 See Muhammad Javād Gharavī Isfahani (n.p., n.d.).

25 We can find very a similar argument to Abd al-Rāziq's by Sayyed Rāḍi Āli Yāsīn in his well-known book, *Ṣulḥ al-Ḥasan* (1979).

26 Ali Abd al-Rāziq (1978: 73).

27 To support his position, Ḥāery refers to the following verse of the Qur'an: '*Certainly Allah was well pleased with the believers when they swore allegiance to you under the tree*' (48: 18). See Mehdi ḤāeryYazdī (1995: 143).

28 See ḤāeryYazdī (1995). In the appendix of Ḥāery's book, there is a serious dialogue between the author and Javādī Āmulī on supporting proofs for political Islam and the political authority of the *faqīh*. Akbar Thubūt, in his forthcoming book, chapters 9 and 10, has collected arguments of the most eminent early and contemporary jurists, with a focus on Akhūnd Khorasani's views on different aspects of the political authority of the *faqīh* and its social, religious and political repercussions.

29 For more on different approaches to modern political secularism, see Mehrān Kāmravā (2008: 1–9, 174–213). For a study on political Islam and modern issues like democracy, human and civil rights, see M. Kāmravā, ed. (2006). See also Roy Olivier (2007: chapter 2); Berna Turam (2004: *BJS*, LV, no. 2, 259–281). In Persian, for more on apolitical Islam and the issue of *wilāyat al-faqīh* in jurisprudence with a historical approach, from early Islam to contemporary Iran, see M. Kadīvar (1387c Sh: sections 2 and 4); Ḥamīd Enāyat (1377 Sh). On modern political secularism in Persian, see Abd al-Karīm Soroush (1376 Sh: 423); Hātam Qāderī (2000).

30 There is a rich body of literature in English that examines intellectual trends in modern Iran and the ideological and political foundations of the Islamic revolution. See, for example, Hamid Dabashi (1993); Mehrzad Boroujerdi (1996); Negin Nabavi (2003); Farzin Vahdat (2002); Daniel Brumberg (2001).

31 See Rūhullah Khomeini (1390 Sh). For a historical study on religious political authority from Imam Ali to Khomeini, see Hamid Mavani (2013). See also A. Javādī Āmulī (1357 Sh: 4–16); A. Javādī Āmulī (1378 Sh); S. Abbas Hussieni Qā'im Maqāmī (1379 Sh).

32 The following verses have been quoted by advocates of political Islam:

> *And we have revealed to you the Book with the Truth, verifying what is before it of the book and a guardian over it, therefore, judge between them by what Allah revealed* (5:48]; *And whoever does not judge by what Allah has revealed, they are the unbelievers* (5:44); *Allah raised prophets as bearers of good news and warners,*

and He revealed with them the book with truth, that it might judge between people in that in which they differed (2: 2; 3).

For more details on the proofs for political Islam, see Seyed Kāzim Hāerī (1415: 95–99); Abdullah Javādī Āmulī (1378: 151–152).

33 A hadith of the second degree, from ‘Umar Ibn Hanzala, has been used in support of the political authority of jurists. In this hadith, ‘Umar Ibn Hanzala asks Imam Ṣādiq what would be the correct action for two Shi‘i individuals who have a disagreement concerning a debt or inheritance, whether to seek the verdict of the ruler or the judge. The Imam replies: ‘They must seek out one of you who narrates our traditions, who is versed in what is permissible and what is forbidden, who is well acquainted with our laws and ordinances, and accept him as judge and arbiter, for I appoint him as *hākim* (judge).’ See Shaykh al-Kulaynī (1356 Sh: I, 67); ShaykhṬūsī (1367 Sh: VI, 218).

34 Ayatollah Khomeini says: ‘What is meant by *al-ḥawādith al-wāqi‘a* is the newly-arising problems that affect the people and Muslims. The question Isḥāq Ibn Ya‘qūb was implicitly posing was this: “Now that we no longer have access to you, what should we do with respect to social problems? What is our duty?” ’ See R. Khomeinī (1981: 85).

35 Abu Ja‘far, *Shaykh al-Ṣadūq* (1405: II, 483). This hadith is also narrated in other hadith collections, such as Shaykh Ṭūsi’s *Kitāb al-Ghayba* (1411: 290), Shaykh Muhammad Hassan Najaf’s *Jawāhir al-Kalām* (1388 Sh: XVI, 422), and Shaykh Murtaḍā Anṣārī’s *al-Qaḍāwa al-Shahādāt* (1415: 46).

36 There is a group of Imami jurists who reject these categories of hadiths as evidence that the fuqahā have any special role in the daily affairs of the community. They also believe that the jurists have no special, let alone exclusive role as a separate class over the judge’s authority (*al-qaḍā*) or for the implementation of God’s penal law (*al-ḥudūd*). The *qāḍī*/*faqīh* was specifically forbidden from interacting with any authorities other than the Imams. For a further comparative study of the general authority of jurists (*wilāyat al-‘āmma*) in Imamism, see Muhsen Kadīvar (1387a Sh: 51–69); Muhsen Kadīvar (1387b: 100–131).

37 See Kāzim Hāerī (1415: 96); R. Khomeini (1390, 48–50); J. Eliash (1969: *SI*, no. 29, 17–30).

38 *Wilāyat al-ḥisba* is the authority of jurists to distribute individuals’ inheritance, receive taxes (*khums* and *zakāt*), manage the finance of orphans, and perform other functions.

39 See A. Newman (1992: *BSOAS*, vol. 55, ii: 259). See also S. Amir-Arjomand (1985: *JESHO*, vol. 28, no. 2: 169–219).

40 Ali al-Karakī (1409: 142–143, 161). See al-Karakī’s view on the scope of the authority of jurists in his *Nafakhāt* (n.d., 47: 68–72).

41 Ṣadrā (1377 Sh: 74–75, 83–84).

42 Farid al-Din Attar (1363 Sh: II, chapter 43, 21).

43 *Asfār* (VII, 190).

44 For more on those who saw Ṣadrā as apolitical, see Sayyed Javād Ṭabāṭabā’ī (2005/1383 Sh); Bostānī, Ahmad (1389 Sh: *MUIM*, vol. 1, no. 2: 10–26).

45 For a brief account of medieval philosophical thought on this issue, see Oliver Leaman (1980: DI, 110); R. Lerner and M. Mahdi (1963).

46 Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 362).

47 Ṣadrā (1360: 363); Ṣadrā (2004: II, 463).

48 Ṣadrā (1979: 111–113).

49 Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 363).

50 Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 372–374).

51 Ṣadrā (1976: 490–491).

52 Ṣadrā (1976: 489).

53 For this approach to Islamic mysticism, see Ghazzālī (1988: III, ‘Dhamm al-Rīyā’ wa al-Jahl’ and ‘Dhamm al-Ghurūr’).

54 Ṣadrā (1377 Sh: 68).

1 H. Ziai (2013: *PEIPT*, ed. G. Bowering, 378–379); Sayyed Javād Ṭabāṭabā'ī (2005/1383 Sh).
2 Ibn Sīnā, for instance, is one of the Muslim philosophers who studied human nature in detail in terms of its physiological and psychological aspects. See Ibn Sīnā, *al-Shifā* (1983a: II, part 3, 428–433); Michael F. Marmura (2005: 1–15).
3 See *Asfār* (I, 264–268).
4 *Asfār* (VIII, 221).
5 Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 187).
6 Ṣadrā (1379 Sh: 116, 252).
7 *Asfār* (IX, 30–31, 225–228).
8 *Asfār* (VIII, 223–224).
9 *Asfār* (VII, 78); Mullā Ṣadrā (1984: 33); Mullā Ṣadrā (1360 Sh*:* 355).
10 Ṣadrā (1984: 479).
11 Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 356).
12 Ṣadrā (1411a: VI, 277–279).
13 In a famous verse, God says: '*We said to the angels: "Bow down to Adam" and they bowed down. Not so Iblis (Satan): he refused and was haughty: he was of those who reject faith*' (Qur'an, 2:34). In another verse, God says: '*"What prevented thee from bowing down when I commanded thee?" Satan said: "I am better than he: Thou didst create me from fire, and him from clay." (God) said:* "*Get thee down from this: it is not for thee to be arrogant here: get out, for thou art of the meanest (of creatures)*"' (Qur'an, 7:11–13).
14 For more details on Ṣadrā's explanation of this verse, see Ṣadrā (1411a: IV, 410).
15 In the introduction to *Asfār*, he urges self-purification and the pursuit of perfection to obtain divine grace and knowledge. *Asfār* (I, 11–12).
16 For example, Jāvādī Āmulī, in his introduction to *Taḥrīr Tamhīd al-Qawā'id* by Ibn Turka Iṣfahānī (1372 Sh: 13), following the famous saying of the first Shi'i Imam, 'Ali Ibn Abi Ṭālib, '[T]he study of wisdom requires spiritual exercise and forsaking the world,' speaks of the importance of self-purification for any successful study of divine knowledge. See Imam 'Ali's hadith in A.W. Tamīmī Āmīdī (1359 Sh/1980: I, 238).
17 The term *dunyā* generally refers to the natural, mundane world, and *ākhira* to the Hereafter. *Dunyā* is originally from *dunuww*, meaning 'what is nearer', or from *dānī'*, meaning 'what is lesser in worth'. At any rate, this world is called *dunyā* in order to describe it either as nearer and visible, or as the lesser and lower world of matter and corporeality, just as the Hereafter is called *ākhira* to indicate that it is the further or greater world that comes after, where human beings will reap the consequences of what they did in the material world. See S. Ali Akbar Qurayshī (1982: 362); Azim Nanji (2008: 365–368); S.H. Nasr (1999a, chapters 1, 3 and 4). See also Quṭb al-Dīn Ishkiwarī's quotations from Safavid philosophers on asceticism as a prerequisite for succeeding in philosophy/wisdom (1999: I, 100). For the views of Christian ascetics on this worldly life, see D. Turner (1994).
18 *Asfār* (III, 502; VII: 33); Ṣadrā (1984: 22).
19 *Asfār* (IX, 228–229).
20 Mullā Muhsin Fayḍ Kashani (1979a: 292). See also his *al-Ḥaqā'iq fi Mahāsin al-Akhlāq* (1979b: section 3, 69–129). For hadiths on censure of this world, see M. Bāqir Majlisī (1374 Sh: VII, 59, hadith no. 29).
21 M.B. Majlisī (1374 Sh*:* I, 134, hadith no. 30). There is a very famous hadith that says, 'Love of this world (*dunyā*) is the origin of every sin.' Abulqasim Pāyande (1337: hadith no. 1342).
22 For the inner and outer aspects of the world in Ṣadrā's philosophy, see Corbin (1993: 12–13, 256, 261). For more on the inner meaning of Islamic law and the canonical rites in Shi'ism, see Fadhlalla Hāerī (2002: chapters 3 and 4).
23 *Asfār* (IX, 167–8); Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 365).
24 Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 375–376).

25 *Asfār* (VII, 23–40).
26 Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 375–376).
27 Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 376).
28 See Ṣadrā (1984: 485–487); Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 359, 375).
29 *Asfār* (I, 13).
30 See Ṣadrā (1984: 127, 355); Ṣadrā (1976: 278); Ṣadrā (1377 Sh: 120).
31 According to Ṣadrā, there are also inner and outer dimensions to knowledge. The inner dimension is intuitive, or 'knowledge by presence' (*al-'ilm al-huḍūrī*). In Islamic mysticism, the terms *'ilm* and *ma'rifa* refer to this, the first of which is usually applied to outer or acquired knowledge, in the sense of long years of study and training, while the second implies a 'mystical knowledge of the divine', which Ṣadrā identifies as 'inward knowledge'. The person who has completed the four journeys and reaches the station of perfect man will have both kinds of knowledge. Outer knowledge is a path towards the inner, and without acquired knowledge man cannot reach proper intuitive knowledge. For more on interior and exterior knowledge in Ṣadrā's works, see Ṣadrā (1984: 465, 560, 606); Ṣadrā (1976: 455); Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 287); *Asfār* (IX, 38); I. Kalin (2010).
32 Ṣadrā (1976: 568).
33 For more explanations of the attributes encompassing the soul, see Mullā Ṣadrā's statements on *kawn al-jāmi'* (comprehensive being) in *Asfār* (I, 391; VII, 180; VIII, 206). See also Ṣadrā (1984: 234). We will analyse the notion of 'comprehensive being' in the next chapters.
34 Ṣadrā (1976: 560).
35 See, for example, Sayyed Javād Ṭabāṭabā'ī (1383 Sh: 340) and Ahmad Bostānī (1389 Sh: 12–5), who maintain that Ṣadrā never had any concern with social life and politics.
36 See Ṣadrā (1381a Sh: 75). He sometime uses 'ultimate happiness' (*sa'ādat al-quswā*) (1379 Sh: 91; 1378 Sh: 65). Elsewhere he uses 'complete and everlasting happiness' (*sa'ādat al-tāmma wa dā'ima*), as in *Asfār* (IV, 348); Ṣadrā (1381a Sh: 245).
37 See, for example, *Asfār* (I, 1; V, 223, 263; IX, 130, 351); Ṣadrā (1976: 367); Ṣadrā (1379 Sh: 7, 149). Ṣadrā sometime uses Fārābī's and Ibn Sīnā's terminology of unity with the Active Intellect. See, for example, Ṣadrā (1976: 493)
38 *Asfār* (II, 322).
39 Ṣadrā (1381a Sh: 152–153). He usually uses the notion of *bāṭiniyya* for the inner faculty of soul, such as *baṣīrat al-bāṭiniyya*, in Ṣadrā (1381a Sh: 234), or *ḥawās al-bāṭiniyya*. See, for example, Ṣadrā (1313: 444); Ṣadrā (1378 Sh: 73); *Asfār* (IX, 179; I, 309).
40 M. Mahdi (2001: 3).
41 Aristotle (1941b*:* I, n: 1094, a, b). For more on the influence of Plato and Aristotle on Muslim philosophers regarding this issue, see E. Rosenthal (1962: 114).
42 See E. Rosenthal (1962: 118), cited from *Politikos,* 259B. For Plato's political thought, see Ernest Barker (1960).
43 For a brief explanation about Muslim philosophers' views on politics, see Jamīl Ṣalibā (1994: I, 679–683); S. Yavuz (2015: *BEIPh*, ed. O. Leaman, 91–96); Muqtedar Khan, M. A. (2019: 161–208); A. Black (2001).
44 See *Averroes' Commentary on Plato's Republic*, 22. There is no Arabic version of Ibn al-Rushd's interpretation of the *Republic*, but there is research by Erwin I.J. Rosenthal from Hebrew to English, *Averroes' Commentary on Plato's Republic* (1956: 7–8), cited from a Hebrew text, 112.
45 Fārābī (2001a: 6–12).
46 E. Rosenthal (1962: 119). Cf. A. Gonzalez Palencia (1953: 91).
47 Fārābī (1403: 12). See also E. Rosenthal (1962: 119).
48 Fārābī (1403: 13).
49 Ibid.
50 For the confluence of revelation and Islamic political philosophy in the last ten centuries, see H. Mikhail (1995).

51 See, for example, Ibn al-Rushd (1961: 219–220); M. Fakhry (2001: 94–95). For more on the history of this debate, see E. Rosenthal (1962: 15–21); A. Black (ed.) (2001: 94–95); G. Bowering, ed. (2013: *PEIPT*, vii–xix).
52 Ṣadrā (1313: 36).
53 Ṣadrā (1976: 557).
54 Ṣadrā (1411a: I, 117).
55 Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 362–363).
56 Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 361–362).
57 *Asfār* (VIII, 107).
58 Y. Kulaynī (1988: I, 50, hadith 14).
59 Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 340).
60 Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 364).
61 Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 363).
62 Ṣadrā (1976: 488).
63 Ṣadrā (1976: 448).
64 Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 359–360).
65 For Fārābī's view on different types of corrupt city, see al-Fārābī (1964: 87); al-Fārābī (1959: 109).
66 In his introduction, Walzer stresses that al-Fārābī 'does not confine his interest to the felicity of the first ruler: he is equally concerned with the felicity of all the five classes which make up the perfect state'. See R. Walzer (1985: 409–410).
67 See Ṣadrā (1982b: 26–27).
68 Ṣadrā (1976: 490).
69 This idea is strongly reminiscent of Fārābī and goes back ultimately to Plato, as does the idea of men forming an association to help one another satisfy their needs. See his *Madina al-Fāḍila*, especially his a*l-Fuṣūl al-Madaniyya*.
70 Ṣadrā (2004: II, 470).
71 See, for example, Ṣadrā (1976: 488); Ṣadrā (1984: 57).
72 Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 372; 1379 Sh: 115).
73 Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 359).
74 Mullā Ṣadrā usually uses Fārābī's term *al-fāḍīlah* for both the virtuous and the perfect society. He sometimes uses the terms *kāmilah* (complete), *ṭayyiba* (pleasant) as in Ṣadrā (1999: 219), *jāmi'ah* (comprehensive) as in *Asfār* (VII, 181), or just *ādilah*, as in Ṣadrā (1303: 176).
75 Ṣadrā (1976: 490).
76 Ṣadrā (1976: 488).
77 Ibn Khaldūn (1858: I, 342).
78 See Abu al-Hasan al-Māwardī (1996). See also Bernard Lewis (1974: 40–42).
79 Such an extreme view on the religious state led to Wahhabism, the movement that was built on Ibn Taymiyya's theology and that organised itself in the kingdom of Sa'udi Arabia. For more on Ibn Taymiyya, see his *Sīyāsat al-Shar'iyya* (1951); M. Henri Laoust (1939). For an early history of Islamic law in the state, see W. Madelung (1997).
80 See A. Barzegar (2013: ed. G. Bowering, *PEIPT*, 55–57).
81 See M. Ḥillī (1988: part 3); S.H. Nasr (1999a: chapter IV).
82 For a comparison between Greek and Muslim philosophers' views on the position of law and the Shari'a, see Rosenthal (1962: 117).
83 Mullā Ṣadrā (1381a Sh: 67–68).
84 Ṣadrā (1976: 488).
85 For an analysis of Ṣadrā as a 'philosopher of revelation', see Christian Jambet (2006).
86 Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 364).
87 Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 360).
88 Ṣadrā (1976: 488–489).

89 As we will clarify, Ṣadrā sometime uses *sīyāsa* for the human and secular law, in contrast to Shari'a as divine law.
90 Ṣadrā (1976: 488–489).
91 F. Rahman (1975: 6). See also a comprehensive discussion on this issue in Gh. Ibrāhīmī Dīnāī (1382 Sh: 9–30).
92 *Asfār* (I, 315).
93 H. Nasr (1997: 57).
94 For Ṣadrā's view on this key epistemological matter, see his discussion on *al-'aql al-mustafād* (1984: 430; 1360 Sh: 207); Ṣadrā (1976: 206, 273).
95 Ṣadrā (1381a Sh: 38).
96 Ṣadrā (1381a Sh: 59).
97 Ṣadrā (1381a Sh: 63).
98 Ṣadrā (1381a Sh: 64).
99 Ṣadrā (1313: 5).
100 Ṣadrā (1378 Sh: 148).
101 In *al-Shawāhid al-Rubūbiyya*, 365, Ṣadrā quotes from Plato's *Nawāmīs*, which is in fact from a manuscript of al-Fārābī's *Talkhīs al-Nawāmīs*, a summary of Plato's *Laws* (*Nawāmīs* in Arabic). *Talkhīs al-Nawāmīs* was published in Arabic by Abd al-Rahman Badawī in the second section of his *Aflatoun fi al-Islam*. It seems that Plato was also aware of this duality when composing his *Republic* and *Laws*, in which he expresses the difference between divine laws and politics with regard to their action and reaction. See Fārābī (1982: 54); Plato (2010: 230; 1980: Book VII, 817a–d).
102 See more details of these differences in Ṣadrā (1378 Sh: 147–149).
103 Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 366–367).
104 If politics, despite its rational basis, benefited from divine wisdom, then both politics and the divine law would have the same goal. The difference between politics and prophecy is that political theory utilises its power to achieve material well-being only. See Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 362–363). In this respect, Ṣadrā shares the same view as Ghazzālī, where he advises the rulers of his time to refer to both wisdom and the Shari'a for managing the state. Ghazzālī was one of the first Muslim jurists who introduced the concept of 'public benefit' (*maṣlaḥa*) into Muslim jurisprudence as a rational source. According to him, *maṣlaḥa*, as a gift of human wisdom in addition to the Shari'a, can assist mankind in managing the community. Religious law and human wisdom aim at human well-being in this world and the next. See Ghazzālī (1367 Sh); Rezā Dāvarī (n.d.: no. 31, 69).
105 Ṣadrā (1976: 496).
106 Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 364).
107 Ṣadrā (2004: II, 388).
108 Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 365).

1 Imam 'Ali (1381 Sh: hadith no. 429, 495). Imam 'Ali was asked: 'Which is better: justice or generosity?' and he answered: 'Justice puts everything in its place (*waḍ' al-shay' fī mawḍi'ih*), while generosity brings out things from their own places. Justice is a common rule, while generosity is limited to particular people; therefore the better of these two is justice.' See M.H. Ṭabāṭabā'ī (1393: XII, 276).
2 For a comprehensive discussion of justice and Muslim thinkers' views on it, see M. Muṭahharī (2001). See also M. Fakhry (1975: 243–254); M. Khaddūrī (1984: 13, 39, 78).
3 Plato (1951: 124). For a comparative analysis of the concept of justice in Imam 'Ali and Plato, see the essay by Bahrām Kāzemī (2001: 170). For the influence of Platonic and Neoplatonic conceptions of justice on the elaboration of this discourse in Islam, see M. Fakhry (1994: 61–147).
4 See David Keyt (2006: 341–355); Bernard Williams (1973: 197).
5 Muhammad Ibn Hasan (Shaykh) Tūsi, *al-Mabsūṭ* (1384 Sh: 217).

6 M.H. Tabātabāe'ī (1417: 271).
7 See Aristotle (1941b: V). Aristotle does not see the virtue of justice in quite the same comprehensive sense as Plato; he treats it as a virtue of character (in the entirety of one of the ten books of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, and also throughout the *Eudemian Ethics*), and as a virtue of the political constitution (in *Politics*). The question naturally arises as to the relation between these forms of justice. Aristotle seems to think they are closely related, without being synonymous applications of the same concept.
8 John M. Armstrong (1997: 325).
9 Ṣadrā (1411a: III, 127).
10 See Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 672/1273), (1360: 109). See also Jalāl al-Dīn Dawānī (d. 907/1501), (n.d.: 48–50); Shaykh Mahmud Shabistarī (d. after 741/1340), (1365/1986: vv. 594–606); Muhammad Lāhījī (d. 912/1507), (1371/1992: 401); M. Fakhry (1994: 111ff.).
11 This was mainly inherited from the Greek philosophers. Socrates says a person is wise in justice if his rational part functions well and 'by its possession in turn within it of the knowledge of what is beneficial for each [part of the soul] and for the whole, the community composed of the three,' Plato (1951: 442c5–442c8). Therefore, the unwise man has a faulty conception of what is good for him. A person is courageous if his spiritual attitude does not change in the face of pleasure or pain but stays in agreement with reason regarding 'what is or is not to be feared' (442bc). Therefore, the coward, with the prospect of pain, fails to face what his reason knows is not genuinely fearsome, and the rash person will, with the prospect of pleasure, rush headlong into what his reason knows to be bad. A person is temperate when the different parts of his soul are in accord, but the intemperate person has appetitive or spirited attitudes that compete with reason, since reason deems them not to be good. Finally, a person is just when all three parts of the soul are functioning as they should Plato (1951: 441d12-e2; cf. 443c9-e2). Justice, then, brings the other virtues in its wake, and the one who is just is entirely virtuous.
12 Mullā Ṣadrā (1411a: III: 177); Ṣadrā (1976: 361); Ṣadrā (1984: 691); Ṣadrā (1982a: 264); *Asfār* (IX, 127; IV, 183).
13 Ṣadrā (1379 Sh: 205).
14 J. Āshtīyānī (1384 Sh: 66).
15 Ṣadrā (1303: 3); *Asfār* (IX, 285).
16 Ṣadrā (1411a: III, 177); Ṣadrā (1976: 109).
17 Ṣadrā (1976: 488).
18 Ṣadrā (1976: 490).
19 Ṣadrā (1976: 560).
20 *Asfār* (VIII, 6–7); Ṣadrā (1362 Sh: 136).
21 Ṣadrā (1976: 491).
22 *Asfār* (IV, 212).
23 Ṣadrā (1976: 490).
24 *Asfār* (VII, 113).
25 Ṣadrā (1984: 58).
26 For his theological approach to this issue, see his *al-Mabda' wa al-Ma'ād* (1976: 577).
27 Ṣadrā (1411a: VI, 151–152). To compare Ṣadrā's view with that of Ibn al-'Arabī, the first mystic in Islam to suggest the doctrine of *Nafas al-Raḥmānī*, see Ibn al-'Arabī (1422: II, 317). See also Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī (1422: II, 361–362).
28 Ṣadrā (1362 Sh: footnote 122); Ṣadrā (1976: 416). See Ḥājī Sabzawrī's annotations on *al-Shawāhid al-Rubūbiyya* (1360 Sh: 606), where he masterfully compares the ontological levels of outward and inward existence with the inner and outer aspects of the human soul.
29 See our discussion on this issue in Chapter 2 under 'Unity in Multiplicity: An Ontological Station of the Perfect Human Soul'.
30 Ṣadrā (1411a: VI, 267).

31 Mullā Ṣadrā (1411a: I: 509); we translated *al-Ināyat al-Ilāhī* as 'Providence'. The term 'providentialism', from the Latin *providentia* (providence), is a historic and philosophic method of researching the historic events from the perspective that Providence is present in such occurrences and that God has a prior plan to save people.
32 Ibn Sīnā discusses this concept in many places of his works, although Ṣadrā has not mentioned precisely what he is referring to. See, for example, Ibn Sīnā (1983a: 415); (1400b: 175–8); (1375 Sh: II; 405). Almost all Muslim philosophers treat the doctrine of divine providence in a theological context, with regard to God's plan for the guidance and goodness of His creatures, as well as the issue of the existence of evil in the world. For example, see Fārābī (1405a, 103); Ibn al-Rushd (1377 Sh: 94); Shihāb al-Din Suhrawardī (1977: I, 83–4, 94; II, 5, 303). For the Greek background of this concept in Islamic philosophy, see B. El Fekkak (2010: 21).
33 Mullā Ṣadrā (1411a: I: 264).
34 This concept appears for the first time in the well-known poem of Imam 'Ali, where he says: 'Do you suppose that you are a tiny creature, while in you [your soul] a great world is entwined.' In this poem, the Imam says that, although in terms of his physical size man is a small creature, he is even greater than the whole world. Inspired by this poem, mystics have sometimes used the term *al-'ālam al-kabīr* to mean the human soul, but when juxtaposed with the universe as *al-'ālam al-kabīr*, they use *al-'ālam al-ṣaghīr*. It should be noted that *al-insān al-kabīr* (cosmic man) is different from *al-insān al-kāmil* (the perfect man), which also has an extensive tradition in Islamic mysticism. See Sayyed Ḥaidar Āmulī (1362 Sh: 58–61). For the 'perfect man', see Ibn al-'Arabī (1998: chapter 1). For more details on this see Abd al-Karīm al-Jīlī (d. 820/1417–1418). See also Reynold A. Nicholson (1984); Henry Corbin (1969: 131–133, 211, 317).
35 *Asfār* (VI, 384).
36 *Asfār* (IX, 259).
37 In *Iqāz al-Nā'imīn* Ṣadrā explains how the wayfarer should conduct himself within society to be able to complete the fourth stage of the spiritual journey. According to him, no society can achieve true happiness unless all its members live in accord with moral principles and follow (are in harmony with) both the law of creation (*qānūn takwīn*) and the divine law (*qānūn tashrī'*). See Ṣadrā (1982b: 54–56).
38 See *al-Asfar* (VI, 14–16). For a comprehensive discussion on Divine Providence among Muslim theologians and philosophers, see I. Kalin (2007: *JIS*, 18:2, 183–201), and to compare this with Western discussions, see David Burrell (2004: 43–64).
39 *Asfār* (III, 2, 97; VII, 55); Ṣadrā (1984: 275–276).
40 *Asfār* (III, 92).
41 Like Ibn Sīnā, Ṣadrā extends the definition of evil as privation to natural as well as moral evil. For more on Ṣadrā and Ibn Sīnā's views on moral evil, see *Asfār* (III, 2, 61); Ibn Sīnā (1992a: 324).
42 Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 469–470).
43 Ṣadrā (1984: 200).
44 Ṣadrā (1984: 199).
45 Ṣadrā (1976: 488).
46 See Ṣadrā's extensive explanation in his *Mafātīḥ al-Ghayb* on the relation between the substantial perfection of the human soul and being on the 'Right Path' (645–646).
47 See Ṣadrā's explanation on the ontological relation between the habitus of virtues, particularly the habitus of justice and the perfection of the human character in Ṣadrā (1999: 83); Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 288); Ṣadrā (1382a: 260–261); Ṣadrā (1976: 145, 463–464); *Asfār* (VII, 279; IX, 135–141).
48 See Ṣadrā (1999: 195).
49 Herodotus (1972: 220).
50 Plato (1951: 388e, 66).

51 Diogenes Laertius (1955: 475).
52 David Hume (1711–1776), more than any other figure in modern thought, is associated with this idea. He says: 'When you pronounce any action or character to be vicious, you mean nothing, but that from the constitution of your nature you have a feeling or sentiment of blame from the contemplation of it' D. Hume (1888: 468).
53 D. Hume (1888: 469).
54 In Islamic thought, this issue is discussed in theological texts under the topic of 'the problem of reason and revelation' or 'the criterion of good and evil'. Mu'tazilites and Imamis disagree with the Ash'arites who advocate an objective moral standard of good and evil. Muslim theologians propose three different applications in which good and evil can be used: (1) good and evil in the sense of perfection and imperfection respectively; for when we say that a certain thing or action is good or bad (for instance, knowledge is good and ignorance is bad), we mean that it reflects a quality of its owner, who is either good or bad; (2) when good and evil are used in a utilitarian sense, indicating gain or loss in worldly matters, since whatever is useful or has utility in our experience is good, and its opposite is bad; and (3) when good and evil are used for either praise (*madḥ*) or blame (*dhamm*) in this world, or reward and punishment in the world to come. Human action by itself is neither good nor bad, but ethical properties (*awṣāf al-akhlāqī*) make it either praise- or blameworthy, thus deserving of reward or punishable. Both the Ash'arites and their opponents, the Mu'tazilites and Imamis, agree that in the first two senses, human reason is able to discern the criterion. The third meaning is considered an ethical concept and is a central argument for Muslim thinkers. They consider it in the two following ways:

    1 Ethical values are objective in the sense that they are understandable by human reason. The main supporting argument for this is that certain acts can potentially be praised by people if they are good or can be condemned if they are bad (*al-madḥ wa al-dhmm al-'uqalā'*). There is a kind of social contract whereby people condemn, for example, murder and the breaking of promises. This is based on the logic that we would all be better off in a society in which murder is prohibited and promises are kept. Therefore, each of us has a good reason to accept such rules, provided that other rational people (*'uqalā' al-qawm*) accept them as well. In summary, objectivism means that the moral assessment of good and bad are rationally understandable and defensible. By such reasoning, it can be shown that the prohibitions on murder and promise-breaking, or any other moral evil, are supported by all people, of any religion and culture, and at any time and place. This interpretation of objectivism is compatible with the objectivism of the social contract theorists in Western ethics.
    2 There is an objective ethical property in the sense that good and bad acts have an essential quality. By using the term *dhāt* (essence), Muslim theologians mean that certain actions are inherently and intrinsically either good or evil. For example, justice is intrinsically good and oppression is inherently evil. Wise men do good and abstain from the bad. Since God is Wise (*Ḥakīm*), Benevolent (*Rahmān* and *Mannān*) and Omnipotent (*al-Qādir al-Muṭlaq*), He always does what is 'morally' good and no evil. For more on the views of Muslim thinkers regarding this, see Khājeh Naṣīr al-Din Ṭūsī (1986: chapter 3, 'al-Maqsad al-Thālith'); Ja'far Sobhānī, *Doctrines of Shi'i Islam* (2001); Muhammad al-Husayn, *Muzzafar* (2000). For the arguments of the defenders of reason in Islam on this subject, see Martin Woodward (1997). For more on the theories of Contractarianism, see David Gauthier (1998: 111–126).

55 Hare's theory of objectivism, for example, is in this sense. See R.M. Hare (1952).
56 For example, J.L. Mackie argued that if there were such properties, they would be utterly strange and unlike anything else in nature. They would have to tell us what to do and then motivate us to do it, and what sort of 'property' could do that? Moreover,

to detect such properties we would need cognitive capacities unlike any with which we are familiar. See John L. Mackie (1998: 91).

57 This is Locke's explanation. For more on the nature of moral properties, see John Locke (1995).

58 *Asfār* (I, 332; III, 425). See also Hāji Mullā Hādi Sabzevari (n.d.: II, 163–164); M. Mohaghegh and T. Izutsu (1983: 67–69).

59 See Mullā Ṣadrā (1303: 26); Fakhr al-Rāzī (1990: I: 328).

60 For more on ontic justice in Western philosophy, see Lenn E. Goodman (1996: *JJTPh*, vol. 5, no. 2: 155); L.E. Goodman (2015).

61 See Ṣadrā (1999: 195).

1 This is often used as a synonym for a perfect world where there are no problems and people live according to perfect laws and in complete harmony. The word 'utopia' is constructed from two Greek words: *topos*, meaning 'place', and *ou*, meaning 'no'. Thus, utopia is 'nowhere', an imaginary place. See, for example, Sargent Lyman Tower (2010: 21); Ruth Levitas (1990).

2 See Thomas More (2005).

3 Five hundred years ago, Thomas More, King Henry VIII's powerful adviser, published a small book in Latin that has echoed through the ages. *Utopia*, narrated by a traveller, describes a fictional island society in the Atlantic Ocean. For specifications of More's *Utopia* and its background in ancient philosophy, see Wayne A. Rebhorn (2005).

4 The central theme of both works is the search for justice. In the *Republic*, the rulers are to be a group of intelligent, unselfish men called 'guardians' or philosopher-kings, who conduct public affairs for the good of the whole nation. Throughout the society, life is directed by a high moral code of conduct. An educational system for the intelligentsia is elaborately and idealistically designed. The equality of men and women is proposed in both works, though with certain qualifications. There is allowance made in Plato's scheme for the practice of slavery, as there is in More's. There are, on the other hand, departures from Plato in *Utopia*, some quite radical. The *Republic* establishes a sharply defined class structure – a ruling intelligentsia; a warrior class; commoners, consisting of merchants, artisans and labourers; and finally, at the lowest level, the slaves. Utopians recognise no such gradations amongst their citizens. There is also a sharp difference in the treatment of families. In the *Republic*, women and children are held in common – 'there is no marrying, nor giving in marriage' – and mating is regulated to serve eugenic ends; whereas in *Utopia*, the family unit is the core of the entire social structure. For more on the comparison between the notions of utopia in Plato and More, see Martin N. Raitiere (1973: 144–165).

5 Frank E. Manuel and Fritzie P. Manuel (1979: 1–33).

6 For the influence of Plato on Fārābī regarding this concept, see Brown (2009).

7 Fārābī categorises the ignorant city in three ways: the dissolute city (*al-madīnat al-fāsiqa*), the turncoat city (*al-madīnat al-mubaddila*), and the straying city (*al-madīnat al-ḍālla*). See al-Fārābī (1964: 87); Fārābī (1985).

8 See Gina M. Bonelli (2009: 209).

9 For more on the comparison between Fārābī, Plato and Aristotle, see al-Fārābī (1985: 410).

10 In this society, the people will differ with regard to the characteristics of reason and levels of knowledge and hence with regard to their share of perfection or happiness. They can be divided broadly into the following three classes: (1) the wise, or the philosophers, (2) the followers of the philosophers who trust and accept their judgement, and (3) the rest of the citizens, some more and others less adequate, depending on their rank in society. See Fārābī (1895: 46). Cf. Fārābī (1964: 43–44). See also Fārābī (1405: 33, 46–48).

11 Fārābī (2001c: 65–66). See Fārābī's metaphysical explanation on this matter, combining Neoplatonic and Aristotelian views, in M. Mahdi (2001: 6–11, 121–124).

12 In order to see how Fārābī's political views presented in both *The Political Regime* and *The Virtuous City* stem from his own cosmology and metaphysics, see Fārābī (1964: 31); Fārābī (2015: 29).
13 Fārābī (1895: 46). Cf. Fārābī (1963: 72–75, 78).
14 The best known Arabic source for Fārābī's political philosophy is *al-Madīnat al-Fāḍila*, while this work undoubtedly embraces Platonic themes.
15 Armstrong A.H., (1966–1988: IV, 8.4).
16 Armstrong A.H., (1966–1988: I, 4).
17 The influence of Aristotle in the thought of Fārābī is apparently marred by examining Fārābī's Neoplatonism. Miriam Galston suggests that to examine Fārābī's Neoplatonism is to 'cease taking him seriously as an illuminator of Aristotle'. Miriam Galston (1990: 14). According to Mahdi, this 'political philosophy' is the political science of the ancients, of Plato's *Republic* and Aristotle's *Politics*. Muhsin Mahdi (2001: 14).
18 Ṣadrā (1976: 489). Cf. Ṣadrā (2004: II, 421–422). To compare Ṣadrā's statement with Fārābī, see Fārābī (1985: *Selected Aphorisms*, no. 57); Fārābī (2001c: 37). See also Joshua Parens (1995).
19 See Ṣadrā (1381a: 217–228).
20 In this book, Ṣadrā is inspired by Fārābī more than any other Islamic philosopher. According to Fārābī, human beings, like any natural species, have a perfect state towards which they tend. He says that 'every being is made to achieve the ultimate perfection it is susceptible of achieving according to its specific place in the order of being. Man's specific perfection is called *supreme happiness*; and each man, according to his rank in the order of humanity, belongs to the specific supreme happiness pertaining to this kind of man'. See Fārābī (1969: 43). Elsewhere Fārābī says that the human being cannot work towards this perfection other than by exploiting a large number of natural beings and manipulating them to render them useful. An isolated individual cannot attain all the perfections without the aid of many other individuals. It is the innate disposition of every man to join others in the labour he ought to perform. Therefore, to achieve what he can of that perfection, every man needs to stay in the proximity of others and associate with them. See Fārābī (2001c: 88, 106); Ralph Lerner and Muhsin Mahdi (1963: 60). Compare with Plato (1951: 369–371) and Aristotle (1984: I, 2).
21 Ṣadrā (1976: 490).
22 *Asfār* (VII, 99).
23 Mullā Ṣadrā (1411a: VII, 383–385). Cf. M.H. Ṭabāṭabā'ī (1376 Sh: 197–198).
24 *Asfār* (IX, 285, 350).
25 See Ṣadrā (1411a: I, 97; II, 231; IV, 398; V, 19; VI, 215, 285; VII, 374, 380).
26 Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 340).
27 Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 341).
28 A Qur'anic term (94:1) meaning that someone's heart has received the light of *imān*.
29 Ṣadrā (1379 Sh: 402).
30 Ṣadrā (1982a: 235).
31 Ṣadrā (1984: 676).
32 Ṣadrā (1379: 225).
33 *Asfār* (VIII, 170).
34 Commenting on the Qur'anic verses, '*Everything will perish other than His Face*' (28:88) and '*[E]veryone that is thereon [the earth] will pass away; and there will remain the Countenance of your Lord*' (55:26–7), Ṣadrā explains the annihilation of the human soul in the next world as follows: 'When the time of contingency ends and the Kingdom of God begins [in the Hereafter], the material form will be annihilated in God's Countenance like drops of water in the ocean or like solid bodies which dissolve in the heat of the sun.' Ṣadrā (1984: 438).
35 Ṣadrā (1411a: IV, 64).
36 Ṣadrā (1302: 266).

37 *Asfār* (IV, 114; VI, 316). Cf. M.H. Tabātabā'ī (2009: xvii).
38 Ṣadrā (1984: 409).
39 Ṣadrā (1411a: I, 151; VI, 133, 161).
40 According to Shi'a belief, one of the most important missions of al-Mahdi, the Twelfth Imam, is to establish a worldwide just government. Numerous hadiths mention this as his main function, e.g., 'al-Mahdi will appear as the just judge. . . . [H]e will distribute goods and property, but due to the prevailing abundance none will accept them'. Ibn al-Ḥajar al-Haythamī (n.d.: 31); 'Nowhere on earth will fail to benefit from his [Mahdi] plentiful justice and probity, and even animals and plants will benefit from this abundance, justice, fairness and goodness'. M. Majlisī (1374 Sh: LII, 52, 327; many hadith in volumes 51 and 52 on the just state of al-Mahdi). See Mullā Ṣadrā's view on this group of hadiths in his *Tafsīr al-Qur'an* (I, 437).
41 For a substantial explanation on the two Sadrian concepts of *raqīqa* and *ḥaqīqa*, see the glossary in H. Ḥājī Sabzavarī (1360 Sh: 437; 492); M.H. Ṭabāṭabā'ī (2009: xxxii).
42 Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 298).
43 Ṣadrā (1411a: V, 76). For more specifications on these four concomitant events in Shi'ism and Mullā Ṣadrā, see Mullā Ali Nūrī's annotation on Ṣadrā's *Mafātīḥ al-Ghayb* (1363 Sh).
44 Ṣadrā (1302: 219).
45 Ṣadrā (1984: 487).
46 See other aspects of al-Mahdi's government in *Biḥār al-Anwār* (LIII, 4).
47 Mullā Ṣadrā (n.d.a.: 7).
48 Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 366).
49 Secularism promotes the idea that all human activities and decisions, especially political ones, should be free from religious influence, and nowadays the majority of political thinkers in the West defend this view. A considerable number of Sunni and Shi'i scholars support secular politics as well. The general notion of free thought on which it is based has existed throughout the history of Islam. In particular, early secular ideas involving the separation of philosophy and religion can be traced back to Ibn Rushd. Secular rationality maintains that the human intellect is capable of forming vast areas of knowledge independent of revelation. Hence, mankind is capable of constructing natural and human sciences, including politics and the management of society, without the aid of revelation, and religion itself has actually left this area to human reason. See Abdel Wahab El Messeri (2007: episode 21); Anthony Black (2001); Olivier Roy (2007: chapter 2). See further discussion on this issue and the arguments of Sunni and Shi'i scholars in Chapter 7 of the present volume.
50 Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 365).
51 Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 364).
52 Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 363).
53 Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 364).
54 Like Fārābī, he illustrates the complete society to a healthy body. See Ṣadrā (1976: 490).
55 *Asfār* (III, 514).
56 Mullā Ṣadrā (1411a: IV, 63).
57 *Asfār* (III, 514).
58 Mullā Ṣadrā (1411a: V, 354).
59 Ṣadrā (1303: 5).

1 As discussed in our literature review, scores of articles have been written in the last few decades to evidence that Ayatollah Khomaini was devoted to Ṣadrā's philosophy and that his doctrine of *wilāyat al-faqīh* is based on Ṣadrā's thought. See, for example, Najaf Lakzā'ī (1381 Sh: 138–140); Rezā Rasūlī, M. Jamshīdī Rād and H. Khodravān (1392 Sh: *IUI*, no. 1, 31–42); Emād Afrūq (1386 Sh: *PḤ*, no. 217, 4–18); Qudratallah Qurbānī (1384 Sh: *Ḥu*, no. 54, 59–73); A. Javadī Āmulī (1386: *KA*, no. 24, 3–24). For

a recent report on whether or not Mullā Ṣadrā upheld the idea of *wilāya al-faqīh*, see Sayeh Meisami (2018).

2 Mullā Ṣadrā (1411a: VII, 298).

3 Mullā Ṣadrā (2008: 85). See the statement in Arabic, in Mullā Ṣadrā (1381a Sh: 54–55).

4 Mullā Ṣadrā (2008: 85).

5 Mullā Ṣadrā (2008: 121). Mullā Ṣadrā is indebted in this matter to Ghazzālī. Like Ghazzālī, he was of the view that, at first, fiqh was the science of eschatology and knowledge of the diseases of the soul and that it later changed into straightforward jurisprudence, a science that deals with worldly affairs. For this reason, in his *Seh Aṣl*, Ṣadrā addresses certain groups of scholars, including those allied with the Safavid state, and exoteric jurists and theologians who disclaim mysticism and philosophy – exactly the same people Ghazzālī criticises. See Mohamed Ahmed Sherif (1975: 90–95).

6 Mullā Ṣadrā (2004: II, 124). Cited from M.Y. al-Kulaynī (1356 Sh: I, 44, hadith no. 3). See similar assertions in Ṣadrā (1381a Sh: 163) and Ṣadrā (2008*:* 182).

7 See, for example, Ṣadrā (1377 Sh: 57, 69, 70, 76); Mullā Ṣadrā (2008: 26–27).

8 Ṣadrā (2008: 98).

9 Ṣadrā (2008: 99).

10 Ṣadrā (1377 Sh: 38–39); Mullā Ṣadrā (2008: 36).

11 Mullā Ṣadrā (1377 Sh: 79).

12 M.Y. al-Kulaynī (1988: I, 44).

13 al-ʻAjlūnī (1988: 180).

14 M. Rayshahrī (1995: 2095).

15 Mullā Ṣadrā (2008: 72; 1381a Sh: 38).

16 Mullā Ṣadrā (2008: 109–113).

17 Ṣadrā (1984: 487).

18 Andreas Soler (2015: *BEIPh*, ed. O. Leaman, 371–373). For the Greek heritage of Muslim philosophers regarding this, see E.I.J. Rosenthal (1962); C. Butterworth, ed. (1992).

19 See Valerie J. Hoffman (1999: IV, 172); Joshua Parens (2006); Charles E. Butterworth (2001).

20 Following an Alexandrian tradition, in his treatise, *The Harmonization of the Two Opinions of the Two Sages: Plato the Divine and Aristotle*, Fārābī argues that, despite a series of issues on which Aristotle and Plato seem to contradict each other, there is remarkable harmony between these two philosophers, such that they can be easily resolved. It should be noted that this text also refers to the so-called *Theology of Aristotle*, which Aristotle never wrote but in fact derives from Plotinus. See Charles E. Butterworth (2001: 115); Marwan Rashed (2009: *ASPh*, 19, 1, 43–82).

21 R. Lerner and M. Mahdi (ed.) (1963: 46).

22 R. Walzer (1985: 243); F. Dieterici (1895).

23 Fārābī (1985: 205).

24 Fārābī (1991: II, 44).

25 Fārābī (1985: 210–227).

26 Fārābī (1961: 50).

27 Fārābī (1961: 37). See also Ann K.S. Lambton (1981: 322–323); Patricia Crone (2003: *Ar*, vol. 50, no. 3, 306–321).

28 Fārābī (1963: 74–75); J. Parens (2006: chapters 4 and 6); Richard Walzer (1962: 206–219).

29 Rāghib Isfahani (d. 502/1108) lists four degrees of government exercised by prophets, kings, philosophers, and preachers and scholars. Rāghib Isfahani (1980: 271). Ghazzālī lists prophets, kings, the ʻulamā and preachers as authorised leaders (*ulu al-amr*). See M. Ghazzālī (1988: I, 14).

30 S. Urmawī (1351 Sh: 266). See the same discourse from Fakhr al-Din al-Rāzī in *Jāmi‘ al-‘Ulūm* (known as *Sitīnī*), where he writes that the king, as the shadow of God and deputy of the Prophet, seeks to resemble the prophets to the greatest possible degree. F. Rāzī (1346 Sh: 216). See also *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya* by Mawardi (d. 450/1058) and the book of the same title by Abu Ya‘lā (d. 458/1066).
31 For a comparative study of Suhrawardī and Ṣadrā on the concept of knowledge (*‘ilm*), see A. Razavi (1997).
32 Quṭb al-Dīn Shirazi (1365 Sh: 50–51); al-Ṭabarīs (1380/1960: 6). See Louise Marlow (1995: *SI*, no. 81, 101–120); F. Rosenthal (1989: I, 130).
33 The history of this ‘science of lights’ goes back to Hermes, ‘the father of philosophers’, and continues through Empedocles, Pythagoras and others until it reaches Plato. It is said of Plato, for example, that he experienced wisdom as a light in his soul when he was freed from Prime Matter, and this gave him special powers associated with the elevated, exalted world. Similar stories are also told of Hermes and other Greek thinkers, including Aristotle. See Suhrawardī, Shihāb al-Dīn (1979: 325); Eric Voegelin (2000: 62–65); Sharon Ryan (2012: *ASPh*, no. 27, 99–112).
34 Suhrawardī (1970: III, 194). For the relation between knowledge and light, see Faris Hajamaideen (2019: *ISRAI*, ed. Samer Akkach, 125–138). For more on the political implications of this relationship, see Suhrawardī, Shihāb al-Dīn, (1979: 304–344).
35 This hadith is narrated in M. Majlisī (1374 Sh: VI, 206; XVI, 289).
36 See, for example, Husayn Ibn Murtaḍā Husayni Astarābādī (1364 Sh: 19ff.).
37 Historians relate that such dream experiences commonly lent divine authority to Safavid rule. See Ghayās al-Din al-Husayni, *Khānd Amīr* (1363 Sh: IV, 413ff.); H. Ziai (1992: 371).
38 Husayni Astarābādī (1364 Sh: 25–27, 39ff). See also Ibn Bazzāz (1997/1376 Sh).
39 For a study on the rapprochement between the Safavid kings and philosophers and mystics, see H. Dabashi (2011: 91, 132–145); S. Amir-Arjomand (1985: *JESHO*, vol. 28, no. 2, 169–219); Amir-Arjomand (1988a).
40 Suhrawardī (1970: *Opera* III, 80–81).
41 For how the importance of divinely sanctioned kingship in both ancient and Islamic Iran brought the Farrah-i Izadī into the service of Islamicate political culture, and linked it to the Shi‘i Imams, see Bertold Spuler (1955: ed. Gustave E. von Grunebaum, *UVMC*, 175); Mohmoud Ṣadrī (2001: *IJPCS* 15, no. 2, 257–258); Carl W. Ernst (2004: ed. Richard C. Martin, *EIMW,* 687–690).
42 Suhrawardī (1952: *Opera* II, 225).
43 Suhrawardī (1945*: Opera* I, 505). For more on the political application of Suhrawardī’s idea, see H. Ziai (1992: 320–344).
44 See, for example, Suhrawardī (1945: I, 156); Ibn al-‘Arabī (1997: 425); *Asfār*, (I, 427–446); S. Ḥaydar Amulī (1367 Sh: 438); J. Āshtīyānī (1370 Sh: 141).
45 See J.W. Morris (2002: 65–92, 251–275). Cf. Ibn al-Arabī (n.d.: III, 327). For Ṣadrā’s view on *al-insān al-jāmi‘*, see *Asfār* (IX, 339); Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 303, 1379; Sh: 110).
46 See, for example, Davūd Qayṣarī (1381 Sh: I, 21–22), and see Ilāhī Qumshe’ī’s annotation therein on pp. 66–67.
47 For more on the concept of the Muhammadan Light, see Ibn al-‘Arabī (n.d.: II, 26, 49). For more on Ṣadrā’s view on the Muhammadan Light, see *Asfār* (I, 219; II, 171).
48 Ibn al-‘Arabī (n.d.: I, chapter 1, section 25 and section 38, chapter 4, sections 270 and 281); Ibn al-‘Arabī (1367 Sh); Michel Chodkiewicz (1993: chapter 4).
49 Ibn al-‘Arabī (n.d.: I, chapter 3, section 267, chapter 4). See W. Chittick (1989: 30).
50 See the hadith in Zayn al-Dīn ‘Āmilī, *Shahīd Thānī* (1409: 381); Muslim Nishaburi (1407: III, 1459); Hassan Ibn Muhammad Daylamī (1371: I, 184).
51 Ibn al-‘Arabī (n.d.: III, 408).
52 Ibn al-‘Arabī (n.d.: IV, 462–463). Cf. J.W. Morris (2001: *JMIAS*, vol. 1–18, 30).
53 Ibn al-‘Arabī (n.d.: IV, 462–463). See also J.W. Morris (2004: 70–71).

54 Ibn al-ʻArabī (1375 Sh: 832). See also Michel Chodkiewicz (1993: 51).
55 There is a long-held understanding amongst commentators on Shiʻism that esotericism is closely intertwined with Shiʻa mysticism, which explains the rationale of Shiʻism as having the guardianship of the secret truth of Islam. According to one of the fundamental principles of Shiʻa metaphysics, the truth of Islam can only be genuinely grasped, like the archetypes of the sensory world, in the *mundus imaginalis*, and the worldly aspects of Islam represent only part of the truth. The full truth is knowable only to God, the Prophet and his Household. See S.H. Nasr (1970: *RS*, vol. 6, no. 3, 229–242). See also Henry Corbin (1993: 213–215).
56 For more on *ta'wīl* in Shiʻism, see H. Corbin (1993: 8–13); O. Leaman (2008: 94, 624).
57 Mullā Ṣadrā (1411a: VI, 35). For other writings by Shiʻa scholars, see M.H. Ṭabātabā'ī (1393: V, 181; XVI, 350); Sayyed Ḥaidar Āmulī (1422: I, 356; II, 304, 392); M. Fayḍ Kāshānī (1979a: IV, 206–208). For discourses on divine sovereignty in Sunni exegeses, see J. al-Ṭabarī (1945–68: III, 222); M. al-Qurtubī (1967: IV, 52, 54); al-Razi (1938: VIII, 4). For this discourse in modern political Islamic thought, see M. Rashīd Riḍā Rashid (1947–1954: III, 270); Qutb, Sayyid (1990: IV, 1989–1990); C. Olivier (2003: 202).
58 Mullā Ṣadrā (1411a: IV, 228).
59 See more details on these two concepts in Chapter 5 on justice.
60 Mullā Ṣadrā (1366 Sh: I, 292; II, 504); *Asfār* (VIII, 134; IX, 373).
61 This is illustrated by the following Qur'anic verse:

> *And when your Lord said to the angels, 'Indeed, I am about to place a viceroy on the earth,' they said, 'Will You place there one who will cause mischief therein and shed blood, whilst we celebrate Thy praise and sanctify Thee?' He said, 'Surely, I know that which you know not.' And He taught Adam all the names, then presented them to the angels, saying, 'Inform Me of the names of these, if ye are truthful'* (2:30–31).

62 Ṣadrā (1984: 19).
63 Mullā Ṣadrā (1378 Sh: 147).
64 Mullā Ṣadrā (1379 Sh: 10).
65 In the original Islamic manuscripts where scholars have vocalised these two concepts, there is a distinction between *wilāya* and *walāya*, although the written form is the same. The word *walī* (pl. *awlīyā*), from the root *w-l-y*, means proximity or contiguity. This in turn gives rise to two further meanings: *walāya*, meaning 'to be a friend', and *wilāya*, meaning 'to direct, to govern or to take charge'. From a linguistic point of view, the *fiʻāla* pattern (*wazn*) on which the word *wilāya* is constructed is normally used to express the execution of a function. Thus, *khilāfa* signifies the function of a caliph, *imāma* the function of a leader, and similarly *wilāya*, in political and administrative terminology, signifies the function of a *walī* – a governor – and, by extension, his realm of competence. See Michel Chodkiewicz (1993: 21–25).
66 For the lack of a better term and following the Sufi texts, *walī* is translated here by the word 'saint'. The term *walī* in Islamic texts, especially Shiʻi ones, applies to the one who has a complete knowledge of all aspects of Islam, including the law, the inner meaning of sacred texts and the rational Islamic sciences. Such a person might otherwise be referred to as wise or as a sage. See A. Ṣabbāgh (2001); M. Nuʻmānī (Shaykh al-Mufīd) (2006: chapters 32–34); M.H. Ṭabāṭabā'ī (1981).
67 Mullā Ṣadrā (2004: II, 475).
68 Ṣadrā (2004: II, 484).
69 Ṣadrā (2004: II, 392).
70 Fārābī (1961: 50).
71 Mullā Ṣadrā (1982a: 194–195).
72 Mullā Ṣadrā (1982a: 132). See also Mullā Ṣadrā (1411a: I, 77); Mullā Ṣadrā (1366: I, 216); M. Alavīfar (1390 Sh).

73 Suhrawardī (1999: Opera II, 230).
74 Suhrawardī (1999: Opera III, 185–187).
75 Ṣadrā (2008: 29).
76 Ṣadrā (2008: 137).
77 For more on the political authority of the ‘ulamā and the socio-political criteria of ‘ilm as they stand in Islam, see Sirāj al-Din Urmavī (1351 Sh); Fakhr al-Din al-Razī (1938: 143–148); L. Marlow (2002); L. Marlow (1987: 130–140).
78 For the centrality of Iranian myths as exemplars of wisdom and justice in Islamic political culture, see Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi (1996: *IrS*, 29, no. 1 and 2, 162); Bertold Spuler (1955: ed. Gustave E. von Grunebaum, *UVMC*, 175–176); J. Kellens (2009: *EIO*).
79 For more on the political interpretation of this aspect of Suhrawardī’s thought, see H. Ziai (1992: 372).
80 Suhrawardī (1970: III, 186). For more on the Islamic political view of kingship based on holiness and messianism, see A. Afzar Moin (2012: 1–5); A. al-Azmeh (1997: 154–200); Abolala Soudavar (2003: 7).
81 Mullā Ṣadrā (1411a: IV, 410).
82 Ṣadrā (2008: 38). See his similar complaint of jurists in Ṣadrā (2008: 116).
83 Ṣadrā (2008: 67). Elsewhere he advises the seekers of truth to refrain from the admiration of kings. Ṣadrā (2008: 98) and Ṣadrā (1377 Sh: 18).
84 Ṣadrā (1377 Sh: 64).
85 For instance, in *Kasr Aṣnām* (2008: 148), he says: ‘It becomes clear that knowledge is delightful, and the most delightful is the knowledge of God, His attributes and deeds, and His administration of His kingdom from the zenith of His Throne to the limits of the earth.’ See similar examples in Ṣadrā (2008: 16, 44, 131, 135, 150); Ṣadrā (1411a: II, 67; IV, 185; VI, 58; VII, 79).
86 Mullā Ṣadrā (1411a: VI, 277).
87 Ṣadrā (2008: 28).
88 See Mullā Ṣadrā (1381a Sh: introduction and chapter 1); Mullā Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: chapter on the ‘Seal of Prophethood’, 376–379), where Ṣadrā explains the difference between the *wilāya* of the impeccable ones and that of the ordinary saints, which will be discussed in the present chapter.
89 Mullā Ṣadrā (1411a: II, 300).
90 Mullā Ṣadrā (1411a: IX, 323); Ibn al-‘Arabī (n.d.: IV, 514); W. Chittick (2005: chapter 4).
91 *Asfār* (IX, 350–351).
92 Mullā Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 355).
93 Fārābī’s idea on this issue relies on the power of the imaginal faculty, which has a distinct capacity of ‘reproductive imitation’ or mimesis (*muhākāt*). This capacity refers to the power displayed by the imaginal faculty to imitate a series of elements by means of the sensibles stored in it. Through these sensibles, the imaginal faculty can imitate impressions that pertain to the sensitive faculty, intelligibles that pertain to the rational faculty, desires that pertain to the appetitive faculty, and also aspects proper to the nutritive faculty and even the temperament of the body. The imitation or mimesis of the multiple sensibles and intelligibles are manifested in the simple, immaterial essence of the human soul. Fārābī (1985: tr. R. Walzer, 210–213). Fārābī’s conception of the imaginal faculty combines elements from the Hellenistic and the Middle Platonist traditions that may have been taken from Porphyry and Proclus. For more details on the roots of Fārābī’s theory, see Walzer (1957: *JHS*, 77).
94 Fārābī (1985: 210–227).
95 For more on this issue, see our discussion under ‘Unity in Multiplicity: An Ontological Station of the Perfect Human Soul’ in Chapter 4.
96 Ṣadrā (1379 Sh: 116).

97 This is in fact a secondary level of authority which he usually refers to as 'general sainthood' (*wilāyat al-'āmma*). See Ṣadrā (1411a: VII, 380, 1377 Sh: 112).
98 Mullā Ṣadrā (1366 Sh: I, 504–506).
99 Mullā Ṣadrā (1302: 330–331).
100 See Mullā Ṣadrā (1366 Sh: I, 89, 101,102, 141).
101 *Asfār* (VI, 10). This is very well-known divine tradition (*hadith al-qudsī*) amongst mystics in which God says: 'My servant draws near to Me through nothing I love more than that which I have made obligatory for him. My servant never ceases drawing near to Me through works until I love him. Then, when I love him, I am his hearing through which he hears, his sight through which he sees, his hand through which he grasps and his foot through which he walks.' See W. Chittick (1989: 325). This hadith is quoted from M. Ismā'īl Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-Riqāq* (1414: 38). Cf. W. Graham (1977: 173–174).
102 Mullā Ṣadrā (1984: 673–674). This rank is also introduced by other Muslim philosophers with different arguments; for example, Suhrawardī regards those who have attained a certain degree of non-materiality as having an 'archetypal substance' (*jawhar al-mithālī*), and he calls this the station of the creative imperative 'Be!' (*kawn*). See Suhrawardī (1361 Sh: II, 242). Suhrawardī regards the acquisition of theosophical insight to be impossible before attaining the quality of extracorporeality. See Suhrawardī (1977: part I, 113; part III, 63). Ibn Sīnā regards the possibility of inducing effects in nature to be one of the necessary qualities of the souls of the prophets, in the sense that once the soul reaches a certain level of perfection and non-materiality, it acquires the capacity to exercise power over nature. Once the soul transcends the bounds of the body, it can exert influence on other bodies to the extent of changing their constituent elements and inducing changes within them so that they become effective in the world and society. See Ibn Sīnā (1983b, part 6, segment 4, chapter 4).
103 Mullā Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 340–341).
104 Mullā Ṣadrā (2008: 46).
105 *Asfār* (VII, 78).
106 Mullā Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 355). For more on asceticism in Islamic mysticism, see Malcolm Clark (2003).
107 Mullā Ṣadrā (2008: 40).
108 Mullā Ṣadrā (1378 Sh: 147).
109 Mullā Ṣadrā (1411a: VI, 277–279); Mullā Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 356).
110 Mullā Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 356).
111 Mullā Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 341).
112 See our discussion on this issue in Chapter 5 on justice in the present volume.
113 Ṣadrā (1379 Sh: 160).
114 *Asfār* (IX, 350–351).
115 Ṣadrā (1360 Sh: 144).
116 Mullā Ṣadrā (1381a Sh: 67–68).
117 *Asfār* (VII, 148).
118 *Asfār* (VII, 149–150).
119 *Asfār* (VII, 180).
120 See our discussion in Chapter 5 on God's Providence (*'ināyat Allah*).
121 For the importance of the human soul and self-knowledge in this matter, see Chapter 2 of the present volume. For a comparison between Mullā Ṣadrā and Ibn al-'Arabī on this subject, see M. Rustom (2012: 101–109).
122 For the mechanism of forming the character of the human soul through its actions, see our discussion in Chapter 3 of the bodily advent of the soul.
123 Muhammad Bāqir Khānsārī (1991: VI, 80–81).
124 Mullā Ṣadrā (1411a: I, 365).

125 Mullā Ṣadrā (1366 Sh: I, 570).
126 Mullā Ṣadrā (1366 Sh: I, 572).
127 Mulla Ṣadrā (1984: 476).
128 Mullā Ṣadrā (1984: 486). See also Mullā Ṣadrā (1411a: II, 63). For this hadith, see Shaykh Ṣadūq (1372 Sh: I, 157); Shaykh Ṣadūq (1385: I, 85).
129 J. Morris (1981: 22–29).
130 Ṣadrā (1356 Sh: 294).
131 *Asfār* (VI, 17).
132 *Asfār* (V, 349).
133 Suhrawardī (1999: 87–89).
134 Suhrawardī (1952: *Opera* II, 225).
135 *Asfār* (IX, 350–351).
136 See our discussion in Chapter 5 on God's Providence (*'ināyat Allah*).
1 See, for example, S. Harris (2014). See also Alain de Botton (2012). For a theory on spiritual politics as a response to the institution of religion in modern times, see J.W. Perkinson (2015).
2 Mullā Ṣadrā (2004: II, 419).
3 Mullā Ṣadrā (1411a: I, 365). Muhammad Bāqir Khānsārī has quoted this hadith in *Rawḍāt al-Jannāt* (VI, 80–81); Shaykh Ṣadūq (1385: I, 85).
4 Mullā Ṣadrā (1984: 486). See also Mullā Ṣadrā (1411a: II, 63).
5 Mullā Ṣadrā (1411a: V, 354).

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